

THOSE WHO CAME BEFORE US

WAINWRIGHTS, MAYHEWS, STUYVESANTS, AND OTHERS

J. MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT



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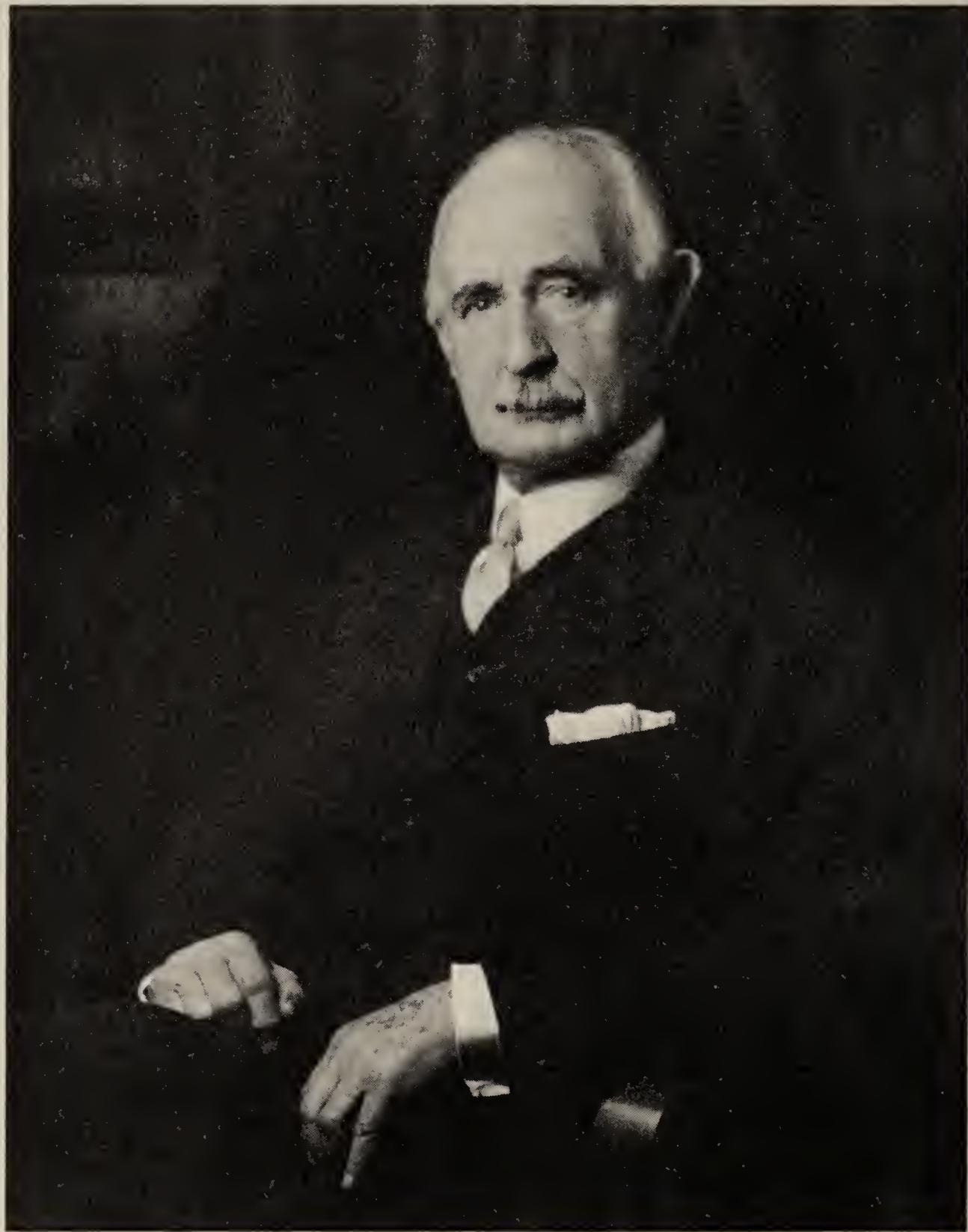


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To Carrie Graven

Who played a part in the
writing of this book, and
was held in affection by
many New Wrights

Forde Newright Conclich
June 1959



COLONEL J. MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT (1864-1945)
Assistant Secretary of War
Member of Congress, 25th New York District

THOSE WHO CAME BEFORE US

Wainwrights, Mayhews, Stuyvesants, and Others

By

J. Mayhew Wainwright

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FOREWORD

My father, your uncle, during the last years of his life, spent long and often weary hours at his desk in the Milton Point house, working on family records.

He found great satisfaction in the character and accomplishment of our ancestors — but his reason for writing our family history was something more than pride in the past. It was rather, expectancy of the future; the belief that knowledge of those who came before us would serve as inspiration to us and those who came after us.

My father died on Milton Point, June 6th, 1945, before his undertaking was completed. Except in the case of General Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright,* whose history reaches beyond any family record, it has seemed wise to let it stand where he left it.

I would like to take this opportunity to express appreciation in his name, to those who have given so much time and help in preparing these family papers for printing.

Fonrose Wainwright Condict

* The Army Record of General Wainwright was given me by the General to replace my father's unfinished account which had been sent to him for approval or correction and which he had evidently lost or mislaid.

DEDICATION

To my dear Daughter, Nephews and Nieces:

The following genealogical material may be of some interest, indeed, prove of some advantage and benefit to you and those who follow in the family line.

In these modern days such matters as "family," "pride of race," do not seem to count for as much as in former days, or as they should. Pride of birth resting on a fair basis should, and for obvious reasons does, form an important element in influencing the course of life of every man and woman fortunate enough to have a good family background. Though good ancestry by no means counts for much on the road to success and fame in this levelling democracy of ours, still, breeding, refinement and gentility may not be ignored.

Virtues and achievements of forebears alone yield little claim to superior regard. A good pedigree has true value only in so far as it affords stimulus to creditable and blameless living. To prove one's self worthy in one's own right — to be some one on one's own, rather than assume to shine by reflected glory which one had no part in creating — is what really counts. Not so much to be proud of one's ancestors as to be one of whom one's ancestors might be proud!

In our case, the following pages will reveal to you that the family sources from which we spring, viewed in combination, form a decidedly wholesome and admirable ancestral picture. Anyway, if they tend to engage your interest, your real interest, in a consideration which should be of some importance to you, I shall feel amply repaid for the time and labor devoted to their preparation.

Theodore Roosevelt, the President, in extemporaneous remarks he once made on Long Island on the occasion of the unveiling of a statue of that doughty old colonial soldier, John Underhill, well put the case:

"I have no use whatever for the man the best part of whom is underground. I believe in pride of ancestry, but only if it makes the man or woman try to carry himself or herself well as regards the duties of the day. The thing to do is to feel that if you had ancestors who did their duty, it is doubly incumbent on you to do your duty.

"A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."

J. M. W.

INTRODUCTION

My father, your grandfather, John Howard Wainwright, was the son of Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York (1852-1854).

My mother, your grandmother, was Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant, daughter of Nicholas William Stuyvesant, direct descendant in the sixth generation from Petrus (or Peter) Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Governor or Director General of the Province known to the Dutch as New Netherland, to the English as New York. Our roots lie deep in the city of New York, but those of my generation in Westchester County as well.

In the Great City both your grandfather and grandmother were born. In the case of your grandmother, the family, back to the Governor, runs in unbroken line in the City. There, each member of my generation was born, brought up and, for the most part, educated. So we may well consider ourselves New Yorkers of old stock.

On the other hand, the lives and interests of your grandmother and of my generation have been so closely identified with Westchester County as to make us of that good old county as well.

Your great-grandfather, Nicholas William Stuyvesant, in 1848, well nigh one hundred years ago, bought the land in Rye upon which he built his summer home, overlooking the Kirby Mill Pond and the waters of Long Island Sound beyond. There your grandmother spent the summers of her girlhood, and there she became engaged to marry your grandfather, John Howard Wainwright.

In 1864 John Howard Wainwright bought one of the old Brown farms, running along the easterly shore of Milton Harbor and including Milton Point and the Scotch Caps, and there established his own summer home. There we boys passed happy summers of childhood, boyhood and early youth. Right here, you might be interested to learn how Father came to buy the Point.

Mother told us that on a summer holiday — in 1864 as I make it — which she and Father were spending with her parents in Rye, the Brown farm of about one hundred acres on Milton Point, having been advertised to be sold at auction, Father said he thought he would just go down to the Point to see what happened. The farm was being sold by Roosevelt Hospital, to which it had come under the Will of one James Roosevelt Brown, of the ancient Brown family of Rye, whose mother had been a Roosevelt. Mother said she cautioned, "Now, Howard, don't do anything foolish if you go down there," he disclaiming any such intention. However, on his return, she said, he looked rather sheepish, so she asked, "Howard, what on earth have you done?" To this he replied laughingly, "Mag, I've been and gone and done it. I've bought that whole Point," the result being that Rye, and Milton Point in particular as will appear, has meant much in the lives, particularly, of the members of my generation.

J. Mayhew Wainwright

WAINWRIGHT

Peter Wainwright..... A resident of Farnworth, England. No exact dates are known for his birth or death.

He was the father of:

Peter Wainwright..... Baptized in England in 1759; migrated to the U. S. in the 1780's; died in England in 1841.

He was the father of:

Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright..... Born in England in 1792; Protestant Episcopcal Bishop of New York, 1852-1854. Died 1857.

He was the father of:

John Howard Wainwright..... My father, your grandfather, was born in 1829; died in 1871.

WAINWRIGHT

We come of a Lancashire family from in or near Widness, about sixteen miles from Liverpool. In the Eighteenth Century Widness was a rural village in a farming area. It is now a city of more than forty thousand, seat of a considerable chemical or alkali industry. Adjoining Widness, now within its corporate limits, is the village of Farnworth. The records of baptism of the generation of the Wainwright family preceding the Bishop are found in the Farnworth Parish Church, a fine Eleventh Century structure. The Wainwrights are said to have been farmers. Their ancestral home was a place called "Green Oaks," a house which I found still standing within the present limits of Widness when I visited there in 1936. The farm, I was given to understand, had been of about two hundred and fifty acres, running back almost a mile to the Mersey River.

The building was a large, gabled brick structure, far more imposing than our usual conception of farmhouses. Inserted in a lozenge-shaped space provided for the purpose in one of the gable ends, I noted the date, 1783. A relative of ours in England has sent me a pencil sketch of the place as it appeared in 1862, showing large trees,—undoubtedly the green oaks which gave the place its name —, luxuriant shrubbery, and spacious lawns with a group of sheep or lambs in the foreground. Alas! in 1936 this ancient farmhouse or mansion, if you will, and its adjacent great brick barns and outhouses were forlorn, dingy and dilapidated, far different from what they must once have been. Lawns were no more, for the house fronted directly on a main highway which had invaded them. Not more than a few acres, possibly five or six of the original two hundred and fifty, remained, and these were bare of trees and shrubbery, which had undoubtedly long ago yielded to the acid fumes from the chemical works. In the interior of the house, however, there was a generous front hall, with a graceful stairway branching two ways at the second floor. On the ground floor was a large room, the parlor of former days, along with other rooms of good size, a pantry, and a particularly commodious kitchen. On the second floor

were five or six bedrooms of ample size, one much larger than the others, evidently the master bedroom, all suggesting the dwelling of people of some consequence. This fine old building may not long be left standing, if indeed it and the few remaining acres have not already succumbed to the further expansion of Widness.

The whole place indicates that our forebears in England must have been at least of a superior type of tillers of the soil. Indeed family letters, which were in my possession and are now in the New York Public Library, reveal people of breeding, refinement and education.

PETER WAINWRIGHT

The records of baptism in the Farnworth Church show that my great-grandfather, Peter Wainwright, was the son of another Peter Wainwright and of his wife, Elizabeth. These records list their children as follows:

1. John, baptized July 15, 1752
2. Elizabeth, born August 29, 1756
3. Martha, baptized May 12, 1758
4. Peter, baptized August 19, 1759
5. Mary, baptized July 26, 1761
6. Sarah, baptized August 7, 1763
7. Ann, baptized June 29, 1766
8. Henry, baptized April 13, 1768

No records of the birth, marriage or death, of either of the parents have been found in Farnworth Church records or elsewhere. That they were members of the Farnworth Parish appears not only from the fact that they had their children baptized there, but is definitely established from a letter from Peter Wainwright, dated at Farnworth on February 13, 1832, to his sons and daughters in America. Therein, referring to a Mr. Thompson, former rector of the parish, he wrote, "He seems never to have forgot the kind attention of my Dr. Father and Mother when he first settled in Farnworth and seldom fails to repeat that they were the first in the parish who showed him civilities." That the first Peter and Elizabeth survived well into the first years of the last century appears from another letter, written by my grandfather to his mother, while he was at school at Sandwich on the Cape, mentioning his grandfather's death and asking what sign of mourning he and his brother Peter should wear.

No details as to the early life or education of the second Peter Wainwright have become available. We know that he was in business of some sort in Liverpool, that he came to Boston shortly after the Revolution, there engaged in business, and there on June 5, 1790, married Elizabeth, daughter of the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., then deceased. That Peter retained an

interest in the Liverpool business is evident from his name's appearing in the Liverpool Directory of 1794, also from 1800 to 1807. Shortly after his marriage he returned to Liverpool, where his three children were born.¹

John, Peter's older brother, became the owner of the Green Oaks property, probably by inheritance from his father. In 1817 he died. By his will, dated June 30, 1815, he disposed of his estate, remaining after payment of debts and funeral expenses, to his brothers and sisters, naming them as follows: Peter Wainwright, Henry Wainwright, Martha Nelson, Elizabeth Gill, Mary Bellhouse, Sarah Pickton and Nancy Wainwright. He expressed the wish, however, that the "estate" should continue in the family, requesting that Peter take it at a fair valuation and assume payment of the proportionate shares of the others; if Peter declined, then Henry was to take it under the same conditions; if both declined owing to their residence in America, then David Bellhouse, the husband of Mary, should take it, assuming the same obligations to the other heirs. That Peter and Henry declined and that the term "estate" included Green Oaks, appears from the fact that David Bellhouse became the owner of Green Oaks, which he and his wife occupied throughout their lives, she dying in 1836, and he some years later.

David Bellhouse was an architect living in Manchester, possessed of ample means, with quite a numerous family of his own. He made many improvements on the property and, in conformity to John's expressed wish that the property should remain in the family, maintained it as a place of family resort, winter and summer, for members of his wife's family as well as his own. It may well be imagined how gratefully appreciative were Mary Bellhouse's brothers and sisters at being accorded such a privilege with regard to the place where in all probability each was born.

¹ See p. 8.

In 1802 or 1803 Peter returned to Boston with his wife and children, there resuming business. He seems, nevertheless, to have made fairly frequent trips back to England, often with his wife. But Peter was in America when his wife Elizabeth died in England, when she and their daughter Eliza were visiting his near relative, Mrs. Gair, at No. 39, Hope Street, Liverpool. Mrs. Gair's son, Henry Wainwright Gair, a prominent and honored citizen of Liverpool, head of the Liverpool banking house of Rathbone and Company and also for some time representative in New York of the great English banking house of Baring, alludes to her death in a letter to my brother, your Uncle Howard, written in 1897:

"When I was a little boy Aunt Wainwright died at our house No. 39 Hope Street, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Anne's; a service was held at our house, conducted by the Reverend J. Hamilton Thom, Unitarian Minister, previous to the regular service."

This service indicates that Elizabeth Mayhew Wainwright still clung to the religious faith of her father, Jonathan Mayhew, who has been considered the real founder of Unitarianism in New England.² Undoubtedly, however, notwithstanding her intimate preference and convictions, she conformed as a dutiful wife to the service and discipline of the established Church of England to which her husband gave allegiance and in which her children had been reared.

Peter Wainwright apparently did not learn of his wife's death till early in September on his return to England from America. In a letter to his children in America, dated at Liverpool on September 2, 1829, he makes this touching allusion to that event, so sad for them all:

² Banks, Charles E., *History of Martha's Vineyard*, Edgartown, Mass., 1925. Vol. III, p. 311.

I have a painful lot to perform and confirm what you doubtless ere this have heard, the death of an invaluable wife and mother which it has pleased God to remove from us to another and better world. The only thing left to console us is that everything has been done by you, my dear Eliza, (Eliza had by then returned to Boston) Mr. and Mrs. Gair, Mrs. Hartwell and other friends to render her last days as easy and comfortable, and, had it been possible, to have restored her to health and the bosom of her Dr. children and friends, but God in his allwise and mysterious providence has seen fit to call her home and left us to mourn her departure. May we do it with pious resignation believing as we must all do that few leave this world more deserving a happy fate and trusting God and our blessed redeemer she will be received into the mansions above and there adore and bless them forever.

At this time Peter appears to have arrived at the decision to abide in his native land for the remainder of his days. He went first to live at the home of his sister, Anne Fenn, in Farnworth. Two years later, in 1832, he acquired by rent or purchase an abode for himself in Farnworth, not far from "Sister Fenn's" and within easy walking distance of Green Oaks. His letters to his children from this point on until the time of his death are dated from "Moss Brook Cottage," Farnworth. They give charming descriptions of that abode and his style of living.

Now past seventy, through with the cares of active business, he appears to have devoted much of his time to his friends and relatives in Liverpool and at Green Oaks. He is revealed in letters as a sociably inclined, sympathetic, agreeable and friendly elderly gentleman, retaining a constant and deeply affectionate interest in his children in America and in their affairs. One of his regular concerns was to go in to Liverpool to make sure his letters should get off on the packet sailing for New York or Boston, and to call at the Gair counting house for letters from this side. He seems to have enjoyed abundant health for a man of his years, when over eighty he thought nothing of walking three miles to the railway station for the train to Liverpool or riding the sixteen miles on top of the coach in cold and inclement weather. He made interesting trips to London and other places, usually stopping with one of his many friends. He seems never

to have missed a great event in the vicinity, including the Liverpool races. After his wife's death he was through with America except so far as his children and grandchildren were concerned. He did, however, make several trips to America during those later years, one a year before his death. He loved to receive and entertain friends at his Moss Brook Cottage. There too was one of his greatest interests, his garden, where he raised fruits and vegetables as well as flowers.

In another letter Mr. Gair writes:

After that [his wife's death] Uncle Peter lived at Farnworth about three miles from Green Oaks, where Uncle and Aunt Bellhouse lived. Aunt B. was Uncle P.'s sister. Aunt Fenn [another sister] lived with Uncle P. at one time. Uncle Peter used to drive to Liverpool sometimes in a small pony cart and stay from Saturday till Monday at the Phoenix Hotel, Mount Pleasant. On such occasions he would sit in our pew in the Renshaw Street Chapel for morning service.

In still another:

The old homestead of Green Oaks was a farmhouse and still bears the date 1737 (1738) . . . Peter Wainwright died between 1840 and 1841, probably buried in Farnworth Churchyard. He was over eighty and was found lying dead in his garden on a Sunday morning between 9 and 10.

I could find no record of his burial at either the Farnworth Church or at Trinity Church, St. Anne Street, Liverpool, where his wife was buried.

He died January 10, 1841. The record of the death at Widness of "Peter Wainwright, Gentleman," aged 81 years, of apoplexy, on that date, is to be found at the General Registrar's Office, Somerset House, London.

No record of probate of a will or grant of administration on his property has been found.

Henry Wainwright, Peter's brother, also came to Boston at about the same time as Peter. There he established himself in business, prospered, married, and became the progenitor of the Boston branch of the family, which has always occupied a high position in the social and business life of that city.

A niece of Peter's married into the Ashton family, one of the great cotton-spinning families of Manchester. One of her descendants was elevated to the peerage as Lord Ashton. This latter gentleman's sister, Elizabeth Marion Ashton, in 1895 married James Bryce, the historian, author of that authoritative work on our government and politics, *The American Commonwealth*; he was at one time Ambassador to the United States from the Court of St. James, and was elevated to the peerage in 1914 as the first Viscount Bryce.

Fonrose and I on our visit to England in 1936 were entertained by Margaret Ashton, another sister, at her charming villa just outside of Manchester. She was as dainty, lovable, refined and dear an elderly lady as one could wish to meet, evidently quite a figure in the social and religious life of Manchester.

Peter Wainwright *m.* Elizabeth Mayhew

- I. Jonathan Mayhew, b. 1792; d. 1854
- II. Peter, b. 1794; d. 1878
- III. Elizabeth (Eliza) b. 1794; d. 1834

The three children of Peter Wainwright, as has been stated, were born in Liverpool. The twins, Peter and Eliza, were born on August 5, 1794. Peter was married on November 11, 1825, to Charlotte Lambert; he died in Boston on July 21, 1878. Eliza became the wife of Dr. Walter Channing, a brother of the Reverend William Ellery Channing, D.D., the famous Unitarian minister; she died on March 22, 1834, in Boston.

Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, my grandfather, the Bishop, was born on February 24, 1792. His earliest years were spent in Liverpool. A year or so before being brought to this country in 1803 at the age of eleven, he and his brother Peter were put to a school at or near Holyhead or Ruthven, in North Wales. Shortly after their arrival in America they were sent to the Sandwich Academy at Sandwich, on Cape Cod, in that day a famous classical high school in the public school system of Massachusetts, where they boarded with a Mr. Clap, the



THE RIGHT REVEREND JONATHAN MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT
(1792-1857)

Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York

principal. While he was at school on the Cape his parents had a house at Dorchester, near Boston, apparently on the main road to Sandwich. Jonathan's letters indicate him to have been a brilliant and leading scholar at the Academy. There he was prepared for Harvard, which he entered in 1808, graduating with honors in the Class of 1812. During his college period the family moved to a house at Dedham to be nearer to him at Cambridge.

For some time after his graduation he remained at the college as Instructor in Rhetoric and Oratory, also serving as a College Proctor. In 1814, being invited to take charge of a school for boys at St. John, New Brunswick, he went up there for a brief period, but soon returned to Boston where he studied in the law office of William Sullivan, Esq. Soon, however, he became convinced in his heart and mind that the sacred ministry was his true calling, and prepared for Holy Orders of the Protestant Episcopal Church, under the Rector of Trinity Church in Boston.

On April 13, 1816, he was ordered Deacon at St. John's Church in Providence, Rhode Island, and August 16, 1817, he was ordained to the priesthood in Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut. Less than a year thereafter, on May 29, 1818, he was instituted Rector of this church.

On August 10, 1818, he married my grandmother, Amelia Maria Phelps, daughter of Timothy Phelps of New Haven and of Janet Broome Phelps, the adopted daughter of that distinguished citizen and philanthropist of Hartford, Daniel Wadsworth, who gave the well known Wadsworth Athenaeum to that city. Grandmother was living with the Wadsworths in Hartford at the time of her courtship and marriage. I have always understood that she enjoyed an annuity for life under Mr. Wadsworth's will. (See Phelps, p. 1.)

In November of 1819 Grandfather accepted a call to New York as assistant minister of Trinity Church. In 1821 he became Rector of Grace Church, then standing in the shadow of Trinity, at the southwest corner of Rector Street and Broadway, considered one of the most eligible charges in the city.

It had been built by the corporation of Trinity to supply the increasing demand for church accommodation. There he remained for thirteen years, to the great satisfaction of his vestry and parishioners.

In 1828, while Rector of Grace Church, he preached at St. James Church, Philadelphia, to the Domestic and Foreign Mission Society, then a feeble organization with but four missionaries in the field. His sermon on this occasion "electrified the Church," which up to that period "had not manifested any special interest in extending the blessings of the Gospel beyond the bounds of her organized dioceses."³ His great interest in and emphasis upon foreign missions gave decided impulse to the spreading abroad of the Divine Message as a solemn fundamental duty of the Church.

In 1834 he accepted a call from Trinity Church in Boston, then as now the leading Episcopal Church in New England, whose pulpit was later graced by the great Phillips Brooks. He left Grace Church reluctantly, from a sense of duty, on the insistent urging of the vestry of Trinity that on account of his known wise and conciliatory disposition and long association with Boston he was eminently qualified to restore peace and harmony to a parish which had long been torn by factional dissension.

Not entirely happy at Trinity, Boston, he was glad, in 1838, to accept a call to return to Trinity, New York, to become Assistant Minister in charge of St. John's Chapel in Varick Street, then, excepting the Mother Church, the most important of the churches of the great parish. He had, prior to this, according to Dr. Dix, refused to be considered for Bishop of Massachusetts, although he was strongly urged. While at St. John's he was for some time in charge of Trinity Parish during the absence of Dr. Berrian, the Rector.

³J. W. Doane, quoting the Reverend Dr. Haight, "A Memoir," in J. M. Wainwright, *Thirty-Four Sermons*, New York, 1856, p. 34.

He had already established a high reputation for eloquence, sound learning and spirituality, and for true dignity and sincerity in his calling. He soon became a notable figure not only in the church, but in the social, literary and public life of the city. He was distinguished for a rare culture and learning. In person he was of striking appearance, with a gracious and impressive bearing of benevolence and dignified courtesy. In addition to his exacting parochial duties he held many positions of trust and responsibility in the Church. He was for many years a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, a Delegate to the General Convention in 1832, Secretary to the House of Bishops from 1841 until his own elevation to the episcopacy in 1852, and for several years Secretary to the Board of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary. He was active in the direction of Trinity School, oldest church school in America, in the Society for the promotion of Religion and Learning, in the New York Common Prayer Book Society, and in the General Sunday School Union. "In every enterprise for the promotion of Letters, Science, and Art, in every philanthropic enterprise, his was a leading mind, and his an urgent hand."⁴ An indication of his standing among the clergy of the City is shown by the fact that he was selected to pronounce the benediction at the conclusion of the public ceremonies held on June 24, 1835, before a great throng in front of the City Hall, to commemorate the death of Andrew Jackson. In the official report of this occasion his prayer is described as "a fervent and deeply impressive Benediction."

In 1848, when he had a severe breakdown in health, owing to the arduous nature of his duties, the Vestry of Trinity gave him a year's leave of absence, with liberal provision for his expenses to travel abroad. He visited Egypt and the Holy Land in company with Robert B. Minturn, one of the Great merchant-ship owners of New York, the result being two notable books from his pen, *In the Land of Bondage* [Egypt] and *Pathways and Abiding Places of our Lord* [Palestine].

⁴ *Wainwright Sermons*, pp. 40-41.

In 1849 Calvary Church, at the corner of 22nd Street and Fourth Avenue, ran into serious pecuniary difficulties, having lost her rector and being faced with possible loss of her church property. In this distressing situation her vestry issued a call to Dr. Wainwright, then an assistant minister of Trinity in charge of St. John's Chapel, to become rector, appealing also to Trinity to help her out of her financial difficulties or even, as Mother Church of the Diocese, to take over Calvary as one of her chapels. Trinity declined the last, but placed Dr. Wainwright temporarily in charge, where he remained for six months, to the great benefit of Calvary, although he did decline to become its permanent rector. "It was a man of large mould who laid his hand on Calvary's helm in the dark hours of 1850."⁵

"The prestige and force of such a leader as her acting minister re-established Calvary Church not only in the eyes of the world but — one surmises — in her own eyes as well."⁶

Dr. Wainwright was an indefatigable writer. Many of his sermons and addresses were published, as well as several books. An accomplished musician himself, he contributed much to the improvement and beautification of the music of our church, writing in 1823 a *Book of Chants* which was formally adopted for the use of the church, and following this work with *Music of the Church*. He also published *The Choir and Family Psalter*, written in collaboration with the Reverend William A. Muhlenberg. He compiled, with daily prayers of his own writing, a *Book of Family Prayers*, in general use in those days when family prayers were customary in the household.

Dr. Wainwright was always deeply interested in extending the field of higher education, and it was largely on his inspiration and suggestion that the University of the City of New York was founded. In 1830 he made a public appeal for higher

⁵ Shoemaker, Samuel M., *Calvary Church Today and Yesterday*, New York, 1936, p. 81.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

learning on a "liberal and extensive foundation," which might properly be termed a university. At first he was active and enthusiastic in the enterprise, and indeed he was proposed as first chancellor of the institution, but he felt later constrained to withdraw from all active participation in the project in deference to the express wish of his bishop, Bishop Hobart, who feared that it would become a rival of Columbia College, then in effect the college of the Episcopal Church in the city. Nevertheless, to this day his name is carried among the founders of the present great university.

An impression that he was of a too urbane and conciliatory disposition, too mild in his churchmanship, was modified by an incident notable at the time, occurring at the annual dinner of the New England Society of New York, on December 22, 1843, the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock. Earlier in the day, at the annual meeting of the Society, Rufus Choate, great lawyer and at that time a United States Senator from Massachusetts, in the course of his address described the Separatist exiles who had sought a home in Geneva as having found there "a state without a King and a Church without a Bishop."

At the banquet later Dr. Wainwright's allusion to that statement in responding to the toast, "The Clergy of New England," was loudly applauded. Addressing the presiding officer, he declared, "Now, Sir, notwithstanding this strong burst of approbation to that sentiment, were this the proper area, should even the orator of the day throw down his gauntlet, I would take it up and say, there cannot be a church without a bishop." That challenge being later taken up by the Reverend Dr. George Potts, a prominent Presbyterian minister, the spirited public debate between the two gentlemen, carried on in the columns of a leading newspaper, attracted wide attention.

In 1844, in collaboration with the Reverend T. W. Coit, as a committee of the General Convention of which Dr. Wainwright was in fact the working committee member, he undertook a complete revision of the Book of Common Prayer,

which was adopted by the Convention as the standard Prayer Book of the church.

Early in 1852, being then Secretary of the House of Bishops, he was sent to England as one of the representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America at the great Jubilee celebration in Westminister Abbey to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. On this mission he preached extensively throughout England in many noted churches and cathedrals, making a deep impression for eloquence and sound churchmanship and winning much praise for the part he took in representing our branch of the Anglican Communion. For some time the sole representative of our church on this mission, he was later joined by the two bishops appointed for the purpose. On this visit Oxford University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Civil Laws. In 1823 Union College had bestowed on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which was also bestowed on him in 1833 by Harvard, his Alma Mater.

Dr. Wainwright warmly supported his friend, the Reverend William Augustus Muhlenberg, in the founding of St. Luke's Hospital as the Episcopal Church hospital in the City of New York. As Bishop, in 1854 he laid the cornerstone of its first building, which stood in the block fronting Fifth Avenue between 54th and 55th Streets. One of his sons was named William Augustus Muhlenberg Wainwright.

At the time of his mission to the Church of England, our diocese had been long disturbed and demoralized by an unfortunate situation resulting from the deposition of its bishop after an ecclesiastical trial. In the autumn of 1852, on his return from England, Grandfather was unanimously chosen by the Convention of the Diocese of New York as Provisional Bishop and consecrated as such on November 9, 1852, at a great service in Trinity Church.

The beautifully illuminated parchment commission issued to him as Provisional Bishop hangs at present in the Bishop's

office in Synod Hall. It bears the signatures and seals of the nine bishops taking part in the consecration: Thomas Church Brownell, Bishop of Connecticut; Francis, Lord Bishop of Montreal; George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey; Jackson Kemper, Bishop of Iowa and Wisconsin, et cetera; William Heathcote Delancy, Bishop of Western New York; William Rollinson Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland; Carleton Chase, Bishop of New Hampshire; Alonzo Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania; George Upfield, Bishop of Indiana; and John Williams, Assistant Bishop of Connecticut. This was the first occasion on which a bishop of the Mother Church of England took part over here in the consecration of an American bishop. It had been necessary to make Dr. Wainwright Provisional Bishop, since under ecclesiastical law deposition of a bishop from office did not deprive him of episcopal status. Later on, Bishop Wainwright's position as fifth in the succession of Bishops of New York was officially established. While bishop he continued to retain the status of Assistant Minister of Trinity in charge of St. John's Chapel.

He entered upon the responsibilities and duties of his high office with zeal and vigor. The diocese was then much more extensive than now, covering a great part of the state. The demoralization occasioned by the issue concerning his predecessor called for special effort but at the time of his death "his work and character were beginning to bring peace and harmony to a Diocese which had suffered unspeakably in its deep distress."⁷ His duties required constant travel under the inconvenient, wearing conditions of travel of that day, calling for exertions that overtaxed his constitution and strength. He returned from consecrating a church at Haverstraw in August, 1854, with a heavy cold which ran into pneumonia or typhoid fever. He was called away to his final rest on September 21, 1854, in the sixty-third year of his age and the thirty-eighth of his ministry.

⁷ Dix, Morgan, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, New York, 1906, Vol. IV, p. 400.

In 1852 after an interregnum of nearly eight years the Reverend Dr. Wainwright was elected provisional bishop. He entered on the enormous work, increased greatly by the arrears accumulated, with intense zeal and absolute devotion to the service of the Lord, but unfortunately, with too little regard to his advanced years and far from robust strength. Within less than two years he consecrated 15 churches, ordained 37 deacons and 12 priests and confirmed 4,127 persons, travelling throughout his great diocese. In the midst of his herculean labor he died as a soldier of the cross, his feet on the field; his face to the foe, his armor on; his spear in rest; the crown of life falling mid fight on his brow.⁸

His funeral is said to have been the most impressive held in Trinity up to that time. In the funeral address the Reverend Edward J. Higbee quoted from the obituary in the *New York Times* of September 22, 1854:

Since the period of his election he has known but little rest. We have often seen him wrapt in an ample cloak, waiting in severe storm the arrival of conveyance to take him to and from the city. The Clergy respected him, the Laity supported him, his friends loved and honored him. Waiting, waiting in severe storm. Ay, in every part of the Diocese has he been seen at times — waiting in the Summer's heat and in the Winter's cold. No, not waiting, but everywhere, on the great highways and aside from the thoroughfares of travel, in lonely vales, and along bleak hills, braving the inclement seasons and wet with the unhealthy dews of night he has been constantly seen pursuing his way, by any conveyance that might be presented to him from one distant point to another to visit the populous town, or the humble country church, or the obscure school house, hastening to bestow his blessing, whether in the "great congregation" or the "two or three gathered together" in God's name. No consideration of personal convenience or comfort, no mere weakness and languor and pain, no private interests in social invitations, no anxious remonstrances of his friends, and they have been many, were ever allowed to interfere with his official duties, from the least to the greatest.⁹

⁸ Wilson, James Grant, *Memorial History of New York*, New York, 1893, Vol. IV, p. 630.

⁹ Higbee, Edward Y., "Address delivered at the funeral of the Reverend Jonathan M. Wainwright," given in full in *Bishop Wainwright's Sermons*, New York, 1856, p. 19.

Bishop Wainwright's remains were buried in the family plot in the cemetery of Trinity Church at 155th Street, overlooking the Hudson, reposing under the beautiful, now much time-worn monument or cenotaph thus inscribed:

Here Rest
the Beloved Remains of the
RIGHT REV. JONATHAN MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT,
D.D.
D.C.L. Oxon

Provisional Bishop of the Diocese of New York.

He was successively Rector of Christ Church
Hartford, Grace Church New York, and Trinity
Church Boston, and an Assistant Minister of
Trinity Church, New York.

He was consecrated to the Episcopacy
A.D. MDCCCLII

and laid down his life in his Master's Service
September 21, 1854

Aged 62 years, 6 months and 28 days.
"God Giveth His Beloved Sleep"

This monument is erected by his family to the
memory of a devoted husband and father.

There is a story that a clergyman, a certain Dr. Eaton, when dining with friends in Cambridge, noticed on the wall the familiar engraving of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, embellished with the device of a mitre inverted, from which protruded a cross reversed, a serpent's head, and a rope. He remarked on the pity that Dr. Mayhew's antagonism to the episcopacy should have suggested such a device. "Oh well," said his hostess, "perhaps his grandson, Jonathan Wainwright (who had just grad-

uated from Harvard and is said to have not yet shown any special inclination to the ministry) may turn it back again." "And wear it himself," Dr. Eaton added.

Some years after his death, the Church of St. John the Evangelist on West 10th Street was founded and still stands as a memorial to Bishop Wainwright.

Our revered ancestor was of high rather than low churchmanship, yet his views in this day would be regarded as conservative by contrast to the propensities of some of our clergy.

A Memorial Volume of thirty-four of his sermons, prefaced by a beautiful and moving memoir from the pen of his intimate friend of years, the Right Reverend George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, was published by the Appletons in 1856.

His widow, my grandmother, survived him until her death on January 21, 1885, in the eighty-eighth year of her age. How well I remember her in sweet and placid old age, with white lawn widow's cap and bow, sitting by the fire at Aunt "Lizzie" Hudson's on West 19th Street. Here we boys dutifully visited "Grandma" on Sundays after church. One of the last expressions of her failing mind is said to have been, "Jonathan, be sure you wrap up well this cold night when you go out." Thirty years had passed since he left her.

Where, in these days, are such old ladies to be found?

The following quotations may convey to you the esteem for the quality of our revered ancestor entertained by contemporaries competent to judge.

From the pen of the Honorable John A. King, distinguished citizen and churchman of that day:

There was not a rough point about him,—certainly not in any of his external manifestations; but there was such an admirable harmony of the outer and inner man, of the intellectual, moral and even physical qualities,—the result partly of fine original organization, and partly of a careful and graceful physical development, that if you should produce a striking, much more a startling, picture, it would be proof positive that

it was not true to the original. He was one of the most faultless men I ever knew . . .

In his person the Bishop was fully the medium size, well proportioned, with regular features, and an expression indicative at once of benevolence and refinement. His manners, without any air of formality, were gentle, graceful, dignified, showing the highest culture, and worthy of the highest office of the Church . . . His intellect was rather symmetrical and graceful than highly forcible; his perceptions were clear, his judgment sound, his taste exact and cultivated . . . I may safely say that few men have been at once more trusted and beloved than he.¹⁰

William H. Prescott, the noted historian, wrote to Bishop Doane, as the latter was compiling his Memoir of Bishop Wainwright:

I had the good fortune to know him from a very early period. For we were at Cambridge together . . . He gained the hearts of all who approached him by the kindness of his manner; and by that genial expansive nature which appeals to the sensibilities of the young more powerfully even than in later life . . . I had the good fortune to listen to his preaching . . . He had many of the highest qualifications of a preacher . . . It was by love and not by fear that he would lead his hearers along the path of duty. It was the principle of love in its largest sense, which was most deeply seated in his nature . . . Not only did he give an example of virtue in his own life, but he presented virtue in such a sweet engaging aspect that it won the hearts of all hearers . . . Never have I known a minister who acquired a wider influence over his people, who took a stronger hold on their affections.¹¹

Dr. Morgan Dix, the great Rector of Trinity Church, New York, in the latter half of the last century, says:

Dr. Wainwright's executive ability, his graceful and forceful eloquence, his technical skill in music, his refined and cultivated tastes, had made him a commanding figure in both New York and Boston.¹²

¹⁰ Sprague, William B., *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, New York, 1859, pp. 614-615.

¹¹ *Bishop Wainwright's Sermons*, p. 85.

¹² Dix, IV, p. 170.

Referring to the English visit when as Secretary to the House of Bishops Dr. Wainwright attended the Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Dr. Dix writes:

(Dr. Wainwright) was warmly received in England. He made many public addresses, which were both pertinent and inspiring. He was formally received by Oxford University and honored with the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. His visit knit more closely the bonds of union between English and American Churchman.¹³

The following extracts from Bishop Doane's Memoir which appears in the memorial volume of Bishop Wainwright's Sermons are characteristic:

He had collected an extensive library admirably chosen. He found, or made, the leisure, amid his numerous arduous duties, to be much among his books. He cultivated, most ardently, his love for sacred music, which was carried to great perfection by his choir, and made it tell most beneficially through the land in increased attention to the subject in his *Music of the Church*. His hearth was the centre of the most refined and generous hospitality, and strangers of every clime were attracted about him by his cultivated tastes, his wide and varied information, his elegant manners, and his sympathetic heart. Few ever excelled him, in the simplicity, force and elegance of his style, or in the eloquence with which he delivered his discourses. He was an admirable model of pulpit oratory. His affections were generous and sincere; and he "grappled his friends to his soul, with hooks of steel."

As a son, none was ever kinder, more affectionate or more respectful. A more loving brother never lived. Nor a more tender, indulgent, confiding and devoted husband. As a father, he was most affectionate and gentle; living with his children on terms of gracious equality; and controlling them with love rather than with authority. He counted no sacrifice, on his part, too great, that could promote their comfort and advantage . . . He was a perfect gentleman. His urbanity of manner never was surpassed. The law of kindness was ever on his lips. No grace

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

or courtesy was ever wanting in his daily life. In his manners, in his bearing, in the expression of his countenance, in the tones of his voice, in the propriety of his dress, in his whole carriage and appearance, there was that which would have commended him at Court, and made him welcome in a cottage. As a Christian, he was meek, modest, and retiring. His conversation was always enlightened, instructive and improving. But it was not his way to talk religion. He rather did it. No one ever heard a harsh word from him. No one ever heard a word against the absent. No one ever heard a breath of scandal or calumny.

One recently returned from England who had enjoyed favorable opportunities for observation, being asked, "Who of all the American bishops and clergy who have visited England during the past few years has left the most decided impression as a high-toned, polished Christian gentleman?" replied without hesitation, "Bishop Wainwright."

Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford, which university had conferred on him the degree of D.C.L., thus wrote after his death:

I saw much of him. At all times, and in all places he was evermore the same man. Energetic, business-like, self-restrained; yet with a gentleness of touch, and a ready quickness of tender and honorable feeling which played, like lambent light, around some massive rock . . . How he did thirst to bring home, with living power, to every sinner's soul, the Cross and Name and Work of Christ, the Lord . . . We in England had just begun to see what kind of Bishop he could make when he was taken to God's saints.¹⁴

Thackeray, who saw much of him on his first visit to America, is said to have described him as the most refined and cultured man he met.

John Flavel Mines (Felix Oldboy) in his *Tour Around New York* described him as "the courtly Dr. Wainwright."

Dr. Higbee in his address at the Bishop's funeral speaks eloquently:

¹⁴ From a letter to Bishop Doane, *Wainwright Sermons*, pp. 49-50.

His nearest friends particularly . . . believed in his disposition and his will to use all his strength in the service of his high calling . . . They knew his remarkable powers of labor and of endurance . . . his persevering parochial diligence . . . the constant devotion to a round of duties which would be lively even in early life to break down the bodily if not the mental energies of an ordinary man. It is true, that the habit of his life was to seek instruction and refreshment in a varied and liberal range of study — that no department of letters, or of the arts, was without interest to him — that in the highest circles of learning, taste and refinement, no one was more welcome than he — that he was known as a *social* man — cheerful, and genial, and joyous . . . He did not ostentatiously enumerate and proclaim to every one he met the accomplished or anticipated varied and weary labors of the preceding or succeeding hours — his presence punctually, at the precise time, wherever his public duties called him — his habitual rising to his work before the dawn of day — his midnight vigils of business, of study, and of devotion — his intervening visits in sunshine and in storm, far and near, through the streets and lanes of the city, to the cellars and garrets of poverty, misery, sickness and death.¹⁵

That he was a great figure not only in the church but also in the life of the City, the friend and intimate of leaders and important persons of that day, appears from that illuminating chronicle of New York in the last century, the diary of Philip Hone, unique Mayor of New York, not only the political but the social leader of that day. According to Mayor Hone, no important function, public or otherwise, would seem to have been complete without the presence of Dr. Wainwright. Hone, who entertained much and undertook the task of welcoming to his board every distinguished visitor to the City, rarely omitted Dr. Wainwright from his list of guests. The diary also indicates that Dr. Wainwright himself extended considerable hospitality.

On October 26, 1832, Hone dined at Abraham Schermerhorn's with Dr. Wainwright present; earlier that day, at the General Convention of the Church, "Mr. Jay, President Duer, and Dr.

¹⁵ *Wainwright Sermons*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁶ All quotations from Hone reprinted by permission of DODD, MEAD & COMPANY from THE DIARY OF PHILIP HONE.

Wainwright, of the New York delegation, have each made long and eloquent speeches.”¹⁶

November 2, 1833, Dined with Mr. Buckner, and met Commodore Chauncey there. Dr. Wainwright was of the party. He was determined at last to accept the call which has been strongly pressed upon him to become Rector of St. Paul’s, Boston,¹⁷ and will leave Grace Church and his congregation here, the most eligible living, I believe, in the United States, from what he considers a sense of duty, it having been represented to him that his acceptance of the call is the only means of keeping St. Paul’s, the most respectable Episcopal Church in New England, from falling to pieces. But I fear if they are such a set of nullifiers he will not have much comfort amongst them, and his departure from New York will occasion a severe loss to his congregation and be deeply lamented by a large circle of devoted personal friends.

May 27, 1835, I went last evening to a grand supper at Washington Hall, given by the members of the Book Club to the Reverend Dr. Wainwright, who is considered the founder of the Club. The party was larger than usual and comprised several of the *élite* of the city.

On April 30, 1839, Hone wrote of the semi-centennial celebration of the inauguration of George Washington and of the oration delivered by ex-President John Quincy Adams.

It was in truth “well to be there.” It does not often fall to the lot of any man to hear or read so masterly a production, eloquent in language, powerful in argument, refined in taste, glowing with patriotism, and fraught with instruction . . . The ceremonies in the church [the New Dutch Church at Nassau Street] were concluded by a truly apostolic benediction from the Rev. Dr. Wainwright, delivered with all that fervour and devotional solemnity which characterizes my revered and estimable friend.

At the great dinner that evening in the City Hotel, Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, my grandfather Stuyvesant’s uncle, presided, while again Dr. Wainwright delivered the benediction, which again Mayor Hone describes as “eloquent.”¹⁸

¹⁷ Error for Trinity Church, Boston.

¹⁸ All quotations by Hone reprinted by permission of DODD, MEAD & COMPANY, from THE DIARY OF PHILIP HONE.

On April 26, 1842, Hone wrote:

When I returned home I found that Dr. Wainwright had called me in the course of the morning to invite me to a family dinner, to meet Mr. William H. Prescott, of Boston,—the accomplished author of the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella,"—who had just arrived in town on a very short visit. I joined the little party after they had dined, and enjoyed a highly intellectual treat.

On June 8, 1842, Hone went with a party including Dr. Wainwright on a steam boat to Sandy Hook to see Charles Dickens and his wife off to England on the *George Washington*.

On June 1, 1844, Hone attended a picnic on Long Island. Our party consisted of Dr. Wainwright, Prescott Hall, David C. Colden, Mr. Macready [the great actor], M. C. Patterson, Samuel B. Ruggles, Francis Griffin, Henry Brevoort, and myself. We left town at half-past two o'clock, sat down to dinner (previously engaged and the particulars arranged by Mr. Hall) at half-past four, and started for home at ten o'clock, just as the full moon arose from the ocean to light us on our way, and unlike the lamps of us dull mortals, has grown brighter as the oil consumed. Mr. Macready, for whom this pleasant affair was gotten up, delighted us with his conversation, which was occasionally diversified with his admirable recitations and dramatic readings. The reverend doctor enjoyed the feast, and added to its charm the tribute of his intellectual remarks.

There is an amusing reference to the Bishop, in the recent biography of Fanny Kemble by Margaret Armstrong, at the time of the great actress's arrival here in 1832.

She met the vicar of Grace at dinner and liked him so much—"Dr. Wainwright," she wrote, "is enchanting!"—that it came as a shock when he expressed pleasure at being able to meet her *in private*—it seemed that clergymen in America never went to the theatre! Later he gave her another surprise. They met at a ball; when he bade her goodbye she remarked that he was leaving early and he explained that he never stayed in the room after the dancing began! She was amazed. Strict parents at home sometimes considered waltzing objectionable and agreed with Sheridan Knowles that no gentleman would tolerate seeing his fiancee "in the coil of another," but she

had never heard of anyone who minded looking on. All her friends danced round dances. Where was the harm? Next day she was enlightened. Dr. Wainwright came to call and he came as a missionary. He pointed out the "impropriety of allowing any coxcomb to come up to a lady and, without remorse or hesitation, imprison her waist, and absolutely whirl her around in his arms," and he spoke so feelingly of the dignity of womanhood that Fanny promised with tears in her eyes that she would give up waltzing, except with her brothers or another girl. "Farewell sweet German waltz!" she wrote in her journal. I shall never again keep time to your pleasant measure. No matter, anything is better than being lightly spoken of."¹⁹

Some doubt might fairly exist as to whether that promise was scrupulously kept.

Of the fourteen children born to Grandfather and Grandmother Wainwright, the following eight reached maturity:

- I Jonathan Mayhew
- II Elizabeth Mayhew
- III John Howard
- IV Maria Trumbull
- V Daniel Wadsworth
- VI Amelia Maria
- VII Francis Chetwood
- VIII William Augustus Muhlenberg

I

For some pages, now, I propose to discuss the descendants of Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, oldest son of Bishop Wainwright, born in New York City, July 27, 1821; Commander, United States Navy; killed in action January 1, 1863, in command of the U.S.S. *Harriet Lane*, during the Civil War in a memorable engagement in Galveston Harbor, Texas.

¹⁹ Margaret Armstrong, *Fanny Kemble*, pp. 153-154, Copyright 1938 by the Macmillan Company; reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company.

He was appointed midshipman June 13, 1837; soon thereafter ordered to the sloop *Porpoise* employed in survey work in Chesapeake Bay; 1838-1840 on cruise to East Indies on U.S.S. *John Adams*, then on cruise to West Indies on U.S.S. *Macedonian*. He attended the Naval School at Philadelphia 1842-1843; promoted to Passed Midshipman June 29, 1843; appointed Acting Master November 10, 1843; shore duty in Washington; memorable two years' cruise 1845-1846 on U.S.S. *Columbia* to Far Eastern Waters; promoted to Lieutenant in 1850; served in Mediterranean Squadron 1851-1853 on U.S.S. *San Jacinto*; 1856-1857 was on U.S.S. *Merrimack*; 1858-1859 on U.S.S. *Saratoga* on Home Squadron; first service in the Civil War on the U.S.S. *Minnesota* of the Atlantic Blockading Squadron. Having been promoted to Commander, he was given command of the U.S.S. *Harriet Lane* and took part in operations below Vicksburg.

The *Harriet Lane* was attached as flagship of Admiral David Dixon Porter's mortar flotilla of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron, which supported Farragut's fleet when it ran past Forts Jackson and Philip on the Mississippi on its way to the capture of New Orleans. Wainwright in the *Harriet Lane* took position five hundred yards from, and kept up a continuous firing on, Fort Jackson, taking a prominent part in the action resulting in the surrender of both forts, being commended by the Admiral for coolness and bravery. In October 1862 the *Harriet Lane* took part in the capture of Galveston, Texas, but on January 1, 1863, on the recapture of Galveston by the Confederates, Wainwright's ship was attacked by a superior force of two heavily armed Confederate vessels. Commander Wainwright, having already received three wounds in the left thigh, was, while on the bridge of his ship "gallantly directing the fire of his men against boarders," shot down and instantly killed by a musket ball in the head. The vessel was captured by the Confederates. Commander Wainwright's remains, first buried in Galveston, were later brought to New York and buried in the family plot in Trinity Cemetery.²⁰

²⁰ Naval material in above paragraph from *Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. VI, p. 316, New York City, 1899; and from David Dixon Porter, *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War*, p. 113, New York, 1889.

Among those killed in this engagement was also the Executive Officer, Lieutenant A. M. Lea, a young officer of the regular Navy, who, coming from a fine old Virginia family, had followed the Flag which he had in effect sworn to protect. His father, who had been rector of a church in Philadelphia, happened at the time to be in Galveston, a Confederate in General Magruder's forces, and claimed the body of his son from the *Harriet Lane* and had it buried beside my uncle. He wrote a sad letter of condolence to my grandmother in New York on the death of her son, referring in a pathetic way to the fortunes of war and the differing conceptions of duty which had put him and his son on different sides in the great conflict.

While in Washington I had in a letter from an old gentleman in Galveston the following story. After the battle, the Master of the Galveston Masonic Lodge, hearing that my uncle was a Free Mason and that his remains were to be buried in the Galveston Cemetery, applied to Major General John B. Magruder, the Confederate General commanding at Galveston, for permission to accord my uncle full Masonic burial rites; this request the General irately refused, testily asking since when it had become fitting or necessary to pay such honors to a fallen foe. But on a staff-officer's reminding him of a similar situation in reverse some time before at Shreveport, Louisiana, where the Federal commander had allowed such honors to a deceased Confederate, the General said in effect, "All right, I'd forgotten that. Issue orders to the Colonel commanding the Regiment to parade his troops as funeral escort."

About the same time I received from the Honorable F. J. Dubb, United States Circuit Court Judge in Beaumont, Texas, an old Navy speaking trumpet, described in his letter as having come into his possession as follows:

"This speaking trumpet was taken out of the hand of Captain Wainwright by members of the boarding party which mounted to the bridge of the *Harriet Lane*, where Captain Wainwright was found dead lying upon the deck. Our uncle by marriage,

C. F. Raddatz, was a member of the boarding party. I last saw him in Baltimore in 1908, and in the course of one of our conversations at that time, he mentioned his participation in battle, and if I remember correctly, told me that it was he himself who took the trumpet out of the dead hand of Captain Wainwright. He reminded me of the large dent which you will observe on one side of the horn and explained it by stating that it seemed that when Captain Wainwright was wounded, he had fallen against a stanchion with the horn beneath his body."

Judge Dubb then graphically described the battle.

"The Battle of Galveston was fought on January 1, 1863. A Federal flotilla, after having blockaded the port for some time, entered the harbor and took possession of the Fort, City and Island, in December, 1862. The Department of Texas had just come under the command of General J. B. Magruder, who promptly organized a force to recapture Galveston. The Federal forces at Galveston consisted of the *Westfield*, Commander Renshaw; the *Harriet Lane*, Captain Wainwright; the *Clifton*, the *Sachem*, two armed transports, two large barges and an armed schooner, while three companies of the 42nd Massachusetts Regiment occupied the wharf.

"General Magruder fitted up two steamboats, the *Bayou City* and the *Neptune*, at Houston, protecting the fighting forces with bales of cotton arranged around the gunwales, and sent same down Buffalo Bayou and through Galveston Bay. He also sent a large force overland by way of Virginia Point, and on the night of December 31st, 1862, his land force crossed the bay on the railroad bridge and surrounded the Federal forces. The engagement began about daybreak. The Confederate squadron was late in arriving, and until its arrival the battle was a difficult one for the Confederates, whose land forces were under the batteries of the Federal gunboats. On the arrival of the *Bayou City* and the *Neptune*, however, the tide of battle turned. Each of these vessels took position on opposite sides of the *Harriet Lane* in immediate contact. The latter got under way and ran down the *Neptune*, but the *Bayou City* fouled the wheel of the *Harriet Lane*, which then fell adrift, and the forces of both Confederate steamers poured a destructive fire at short range into the gallant defenders of the *Harriet Lane* and immedi-

ately boarded her. The engagement was then concluded in a few minutes with the surrender of the *Harriet Lane* and all the forces ashore.”²¹

I turned this moving relic over to a more appropriate recipient, Commander Wainwright’s grandson, my cousin, then Major, now Lieutenant General, Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, U.S.A.

On February 8, 1844, Commander Wainwright had married Maria Byrd Page, daughter of Dr. Robert Powell Page of “The Briars,” Clark County, Virginia, and of Mary Willing. Dr. Page, the son of John and Maria Horsmander (Byrd) Page of “Pagebrook,” same county, had been born at Pagebrook on January 11, 1794, and died at “The Briars” March 13, 1849. His wife, the daughter of Francis Willing, was born at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1803, and died at “The Briars” March 8, 1827. Maria Byrd (Page) Wainwright died December 22, 1854. Their children were:

- A. Jonathan Mayhew
- B. Elizabeth
- C. Robert Powell Page
- D. Maria Page

A. Jonathan Mayhew (“Little Mayhew,” as he was known to the family), and my first cousin, was born September 28, 1849; graduated from U. S. Naval Academy in 1867; promoted to Master (corresponding to modern rank of ensign) March 21, 1870; died aboard ship while serving on U.S.S. *Mohegan* on June 9, 1870, of wounds received the day before in boarding a piratical craft, the former merchant vessel *Forward*, which had been preying on commerce.

While I was in Washington, Rear Admiral Willard Bronson, a distinguished retired naval officer, at a dinner where he was guest of honor, asked me if I were any relation to his old shipmate, “Jonah” Wainwright. On my replying, “I believe, sir, he was my first cousin,” he said he would like to talk to me after

²¹ Official War Department Release, May 18, 1921.

dinner. So in the smoking room, before we joined the ladies, he told me the following story.

As Senior Lieutenant on the *Mohegan*, Admiral Bronson had commanded the boat expedition which had been sent out from the *Mohegan* to destroy the *Forward*. On reaching the pirate ship he ordered Wainwright, who was in the leading boat, to board, which, as first of his boat's crew, Wainwright gallantly did, but was shot at once, falling back into his boat. The *Forward* having been captured and burned, Bronson took his seriously wounded young comrade into his own boat, supported and ministered to him as best he could during the long row of many miles back to the *Mohegan*, where Wainwright died soon after they got him aboard.

His remains also lie buried in Trinity Cemetery, beside those of his father. There is a tablet to his memory in the Chapel of the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis.

B. Elizabeth, the sister of the above, was born August 11, 1850; married in 1873 Dr. John Burwell of Wilmington, Delaware; died without issue July 12, 1883.

C. Robert Powell Page, brother of the preceding two, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 19, 1852; graduated from West Point in 1875; served as Second and First Lieutenant and Captain in the First Cavalry Regiment; distinguished himself in Indian campaigns and in the Battle of Las Guasimas preceding the capture of Santiago in 1898 in the Spanish-American War; held rank of Major and was Assistant to the Adjutant General at Manila, Philippine Islands; died in Philippines November 19, 1902.

He had married, September 2, 1879, Josephine, daughter of Major General Serrell, U.S.A., of distinguished record as a Military Engineer of the Civil War. Their children were:

1. Helen Serrell
2. Jennie Pound Serrell
3. Jonathan Mayhew

All three were born at Fort Walla Walla, Washington Territory, where their father was serving as a lieutenant in the First Cavalry.

1. Helen Serrell Wainwright, born February 15, 1881; died August 9, 1910. She married April 14, 1903, Daniel Weston Rogers, M.D., of Chicago, who died in October 1931. Children:

a. Robert Wainwright Rogers, born April 9, 1904; married 1928 Rosamond Lafavour; now (May 1944) Major, corps of Engineers, U.S.A. Children:

- (1) Rosamond Wainwright Rogers
- (2) Fay Helen Rogers

b. Daniel Curtis Rogers, born November 5, 1907; died November, 1927.

2. Jennie Pound Serrell Wainwright, born February 14, 1882; died in 1939. Married April 6, 1907, Frederick Mears, officer of the Regular Army in the Engineers branch. He enlisted, served, and was commissioned in 1901; promoted through grades to Colonel; distinguished career particularly on construction of Panama Canal and as Chief Engineer constructing Alaskan Railway in Alaska; Colonel commanding 31st Regiment Railway Engineers in France in World War I; in civil life after that war engaged in highly important capacity in railway engineering here and abroad; died in 1939. Children:

a. Josephine Wainwright Mears, born March 21, 1908; married April 4, 1935, John Patrick McVay, Commander U.S.N.R. Medical Corps; two decorations for combat service, World War II. Children:

- (1) Jane Patricia McVay
- (2) Marilyn Elizabeth McVay

b. Elizabeth MacFarland Mears, born March 2, 1910; married June 8, 1936, Henry Meiggs. (Separated). One child:

- (1) Henry Frederick Meiggs

c. Frederick Mears, Jr., born December 1905; died June 28, 1943. Graduated from Yale, 1937; Lieutenant (j.g.) A.V.N., U.S.N.R.; volunteered and commissioned November 5, 1941, before Pearl Harbor; about a year and one-half service in Pacific Theater; battle action on ill-fated aircraft carrier *Hornet* and supporting Marines at Guadalcanal; awarded Distinguished Flying Cross (issued before death but not received) "for heroism and extraordinary achievement in aerial combat against enemy Japanese forces" in the Solomon Islands, October 1942, and in raids against hostile warships near Guadalcanal on Rekaton Bay on Santa Isabel Island; "By his aggressive fighting spirit and skillful airmanship on these two flights he enabled his gunners to shoot down three planes." He was killed in line of duty while testing planes in this country.

d. Helen Rogers Mears, born April 13, 1917; died June 3, 1929.

3. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright ("our General") was born in Walla Walla, Washington, on 23 August 1883. He was appointed to the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, in 1902 and distinguished himself while there by being appointed First Captain of the Cadet Corps. Upon his graduation in 1906 he was commissioned a second lieutenant of Cavalry on 12 June of that year.

Promotions

He was promoted to first lieutenant on 30 July 1912; to captain on 16 July 1916; to major (temporary) on 5 August 1917; and to lieutenant colonel (temporary) on 16 October 1918. He reverted to his permanent rank of captain on 30 June 1920, and was promoted to major on 1 July 1920; to lieutenant colonel on 2 December 1929; to colonel 1 August 1935; to brigadier general on 1 November 1938; to major general (temporary) on 1 October 1940; to lieutenant general (temporary) on 19 March 1942; to major general (permanent) on 30 August 1943; to general (temporary) on 5 September 1945.

Service

From September 1906 until February 1908, he served with the 1st Cavalry at Fort Clark, Camp Eagle Pass, and Camp St. Felip, in Texas. He then sailed with his regiment for the Philippine Islands, where in June 1909 he participated in the expedition against hostile Moros on the Island of Jolo . . .

Upon entrance of the United States in the World War, he was assigned to Plattsburg Barracks, New York . . . He sailed to France in 1918. From March to May 1918, he was a student officer at the General Staff College at Langres. Upon completion of the course at this school he was assigned to the General Staff of the 82nd Division, with which Division he served in defensive sectors in the vicinity of Toul and Point-a-Mousson, and in the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne offensives. In November 1918 he was assigned to the General Staff of the Third Army, which he accompanied into the Rhineland. He later served at the headquarters of the American Forces in Germany at Coblenz.

He remained on duty in Germany until October 1920, when he returned to the United States . . . In July 1936 he assumed command of the 3rd Cavalry at Fort Myer, Virginia. He remained on duty at Fort Myer until December 1938 when he was transferred to Fort Clark, Texas, to command the First Cavalry Brigade. He went to the Philippine Islands in September 1940, and in October was promoted to major general (temporary) to command the Philippine Division. He assumed command of the Philippine Theater upon General MacArthur's transfer to Australia.

He was reported as a prisoner of war of the Japanese Government since May 1942. In August 1945 he was liberated from a Japanese Prison Camp. On 8 September, General Wainwright arrived in San Francisco to be met with loud acclaim from an admiring populace. In the next four days he was received with the same admiration and praise as he stopped in Washington, D. C., and New York, arriving at the latter city on 12 September. He next went to White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, on 19 Septem-

ber for a well-earned rest, where he stayed until near the end of October. He then started his tour throughout the entire country, boosting the sale of Victory Bonds. He assumed command of the Eastern Defense Command on 11 January 1946. On 19 January he was ordered to Fort Sam Houston, Texas, and assumed his duties as Commanding General of the Fourth Army.

Decorations

Medal of Honor: For his "intrepid and determined leadership against greatly superior enemy forces" in the Philippines in 1942, General Wainwright was awarded this country's highest decoration, the Medal of Honor, on 19 September 1945. The citation reads as follows:

"General Jonathan M. Wainwright, O-2131, commanding United States Army Forces in the Philippines from 12 March to 7 May 1942. He distinguished himself by intrepid and determined leadership against greatly superior enemy forces. At the repeated risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty in his position, he frequented the firing line of his troops where his presence provided the example and incentive that helped make the gallant efforts of these men possible. The final stand on beleaguered Corregidor, for which he was in an important measure personally responsible, commanded the admiration of the Nation's Allies. It reflected the high morale of American arms in the face of overwhelming odds. General Wainwright's courage and resolution were a vitally needed inspiration to the then sorely pressed freedom-loving peoples of the world."

Distinguished Service Cross: For action in the Philippines following the Japanese aggression, General Wainwright was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross in February 1942 with the following citation:

"For extraordinary heroism in Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands, during the period from 21 December 1941 to 5 January 1942. As Commander of the Northern Luzon Force, General Wainwright repeatedly visited the points of most severe conflict throughout his command, displaying outstanding courage and indifference to danger. By his presence and soldierly bearing during the severe enemy aerial bombardment and strafing

attacks, and during attacks by infantry and tanks, he stimulated and inspired the troops of his command."

Distinguished Service Medal: He was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for World War I Service in May 1920 with the following citation:

"For exceptionally meritorious service as Assistant Chief of Staff, 82nd Division, First Assistant to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, Third Army, and later as Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, American Forces in Germany. By his untiring energy, devotion to duty and exercise of initiative, he contributed in a large measure to the success attained by the commands which he served.."

Oak Leaf Cluster for Distinguished Service Medal: In November 1942 he was awarded the Oak Leaf Cluster for the Distinguished Service Medal for heroism in the Philippines. The citation for the Oak Leaf Cluster is as follows:

"For exceptionally meritorious service to the government in a duty of great responsibility in the Philippines, from 8 December 1941 to 11 March 1942. As commander of the North Luzon Forces on the outbreak of hostilities, General Wainwright disposed his forces for the defense of the Island of Luzon north of Manila. He pushed delaying forces northward to meet hostile forces which had landed at Aparri, Cagayan, and Vigan, holding his main forces intact to meet a major landing effort. When a large hostile force landed on the eastern shore of Lingayen Gulf, he skillfully employed his recently mobilized divisions of the Philippines to the limit of their capabilities in delaying the enemy advance and succeeded in withdrawing the bulk of his force to the Bataan Peninsula. As commander of the I Philippine Corps, General Wainwright organized for defense the western half of the Bataan Peninsula and skillfully conducted the defense thereof during this period, successfully repelling the major enemy effort to penetrate the Corps' front and three strong landing attacks which gained temporary beachheads on the west coast of the peninsula. His personal courage and repeated presence with forward elements of his command during combat inspired his troops to sustained effort."

Presidential Unit Citation: General Wainwright was awarded the Presidential Unit Citation with two Oak Leaf Clusters and the following medals:



GENERAL JONATHAN MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT (1883-1953)
Hero of Corregidor

Mexican Border Service; World War I with 3 Bronze Stars; Occupation of Germany, World War I; American Defense with one Bronze Star; Asiatic-Pacific Theater with two Bronze Stars; General Service World War II; Philippine Defense with one Bronze Star; the Conspicuous Service Cross by New York; Distinguished Service Medal by Connecticut.

Philippine Medal for Valor: A grateful Philippine government recognized his heroic efforts to save their country from being overrun by the Japanese by awarding him the Philippine Medal for Valor.

General Wainwright has also received the Polish War Cross (Virtuti Militari) and the Medal of Military Merit, 1st Class, from Mexico.

Retirement

General Wainwright, on account of disability in line of duty, retired from Active service in the Army on 31 August 1947, and has since made his home in San Antonio, Texas.

End Army record

On February 11, 1911, the above "Army" Mayhew married Adele Howard Holley, the daughter of Colonel Dwight Ely Holley, U. S. Army, deceased, and of Elizabeth Howard Holley. They had one son, Jonathan Mayhew Wainright.

a. Jonathan Mayhew Wainright, V, was born April 6, 1913, at the Presidio of Monterey, California; attended schools at or near army posts and at Washington, D. C. Chose the U. S. Merchant Marine as his vocation. After service as cadet officer on ships of the United States Lines to Europe and on Grace Line to South America, licensed as Third Officer. Served through grades Third, Second, and First Officer on ships of American South African Line, receiving his certificate as Master Mariner, Captain, in March 1943 before attaining the age of thirty years.

He was given command of a new 10,500 ton Liberty ship, S.S. *Bushrod Washington*, assigned to the American South African

Line. First command experience was in carrying troops, munitions and supplies in World War II to Africa, Sicily and Italy. While in Salerno harbor, Italy, in September 1943 his ship was bombed from air and destroyed by fire and explosion. Here Jack displayed "exceptional leadership" in having all survivors safely landed before his ship blew up, then took over command of another cargo ship which had been heavily bombed and abandoned, laden with gasoline and ammunition urgently needed by invasion forces. Her engine room was flooded; deck gear wrecked; bodies of over fifty dead soldiers, sailors, and merchant seamen, lay on her decks. He labored for nine days with nine volunteers from his own crew "under exceptionally dangerous conditions" landing her vital cargo; then salvaged the critically damaged ship, bringing her under tow through heavy seas across the Mediterranean for repairs. For this feat he was awarded the Merchant Marine Distinguished Medal on citation "for distinguished services under especially hazardous conditions, indomitable determination, and expert seamanship in accomplishing his mission under unusually trying circumstances, were in keeping with the finest traditions of the United States Merchant Marine."

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On return to the United States he was given command of another Liberty ship, the S.S. *Anna Howard Shaw*, same owners, in which in January 1944 he sailed for an undisclosed destination from which, at the time of this writing, he has recently returned.

After being relieved of his command he was appointed as Assistant Port Captain in the American South African Line and brought ashore to assist with the operation of the more than sixty vessels which the line was operating early in 1945.

He married on March 24, 1940, Elfrida E. Olsen of Brooklyn, New York, the daughter of Captain Edwin Severin Olsen and Emma Nielson Olsen of Arendal, Norway.

Going back now to my first cousins, the children of Commander Wainwright, the first son of Bishop Wainwright, we have:

D. Maria Page, the youngest daughter of Commander Wainwright. She married Henry Slaughter of Virginia, and had one son and two daughters, all of whom died unmarried. As "Marie Wainwright" she acquired fame in classical drama.

Let us now continue with my Grandfather Bishop Wainwright's children:

II

Elizabeth Mayhew, my aunt, born June 24, 1824; married first, 1844, Henry Remsen of New York; second, June 16, 1864, William Holly Hudson; died without issue May 2, 1882; dear and revered "Aunt Lizzie" of my boyhood; a noble, beautiful woman.

III

John Howard, my father, of whom I will write in detail later.

IV

Maria Trumbull, born March 27, 1831; married December 4, 1851, Theodore Bailey Bronson of New York City (born August 29, 1830, died December 5, 1881). "Aunt Maria" died in New York City in 1905. Children:

- A. and B. Theodore and Talmadge, both died young.
- C. Amelia Maria married Andrew Hammersley of New York; died without issue.
- D. Anna Eliza married Sheldon Smith of New York.
- E. Mayhew Wainwright Bronson, my very dear cousin, born March 28, 1864; never married; died at Larchmont, New York, September 1936; a yachtsman, fine gentleman and public spirited citizen, giving generously of his time and substance to many good causes.

V

Daniel Wadsworth, born June 14, 1833; graduated from the College of Physicians and Surgeons; practiced medicine in New York; never married; died August 6, 1863, of fever contracted in the service of his country in the Great Rebellion, at New Orleans, Louisiana; Major, U. S. Volunteers.

VI

Amelia Maria, born May 31, 1838; married August 9, 1863, Colonel Henry C. Bankhead of the Regular Army; died without issue August 13, 1867, of cholera contracted in nursing men at Fort Wallace, Kansas.

VII

Francis Chetwood (Reverend), born February 10, 1839; married February 22, 1865, Frances M. Davis; admitted to holy orders and served as a priest of the Protestant Episcopal Church; died November 30, 1874. Children:

A. Belinda Emmet Davis, born February 6, 1866; never married; lived at Williamstown, Massachusetts; died at Cohoes, New York, January 5, 1944.

B. Francis Chetwood (Reverend), born June 6, 1867, at Schenectady, New York; graduated Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, 1888; also from General Theological Seminary in New York; admitted to holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church; married October 20, 1897, in Chatham, New York, Sara Louise Blaine (daughter of Philo Buel Blaine and Helen M. Osborne Blaine), born March 10, 1858; still living; had parishes in Albany, New York, and Hartford, Connecticut; died December 12, 1910, at Wethersfield, Conn. Issue:

1. Frances Mary Davis, born March 25, 1900, at Quincy, Massachusetts; unmarried; resides at 324 East 50th Street, New York City.

C. Amelia Maria, born in New York City December 9, 1868; never married; died Schenectady, N. Y., January 19, 1942.

VIII

William Augustus Muhlenberg, born in New York City August 13, 1844; graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., A.B. 1864, A.M. 1867, and from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, 1867; interne at the Hartford Hospital 1865, at New York Hospital, New York City, 1866-1868; removed to Hartford in 1868, where he married

on January 14, 1869, Helena Barker Talcott, only child of Thomas Grosvenor Talcott of Hartford, and his wife, Sarah A. Jones Talcott; became a leading physician and surgeon and a much beloved citizen of Hartford, where he died September 24, 1895. Children:

A. Mabel Wyllys, born December 9, 1869; still living at Hartford; unmarried.

B. Jonathan Mayhew, born February 20, 1874; graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, 1895, and College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, 1899; became a distinguished surgeon in Scranton, Pennsylvania; devoted himself in his later years to cancer research, acquiring a national reputation in that field; President of the American Society for the Control of Cancer; Vice-President of the American Surgical Association, of which he was Secretary at the time of his death; died in Scranton August 3, 1934. A man of noble, unselfish nature, beloved in Scranton, my very dear and lamented first cousin, always to be relied on, often consulted in family emergency. Adjutant, 1st Connecticut Volunteers, War with Spain, 1898; true to family tradition, volunteered in World War I, and commissioned Major, Medical Corps; served overseas as surgeon, Lieutenant Colonel, Medical Corps, A.E.F., in command of Base Hospital No. 54 at Mesves, France; cited for highly meritorious and distinguished service; commissioned Colonel, O.R.C., after the war. Married May 31, 1901, Jessie Bell Hart, daughter of William E. Hart of Englewood, New Jersey. Children:

1. Jonathan Mayhew, born 1902; killed in childhood in an automobile accident in 1916.

2. Talcott, born February 12, 1904; graduate of Phillips Exeter Academy; Yale, Class of 1927, and of College of Physicians, Columbia University, 1933; a physician and surgeon practicing at Scranton, Pennsylvania. Commissioned as Captain in the Medical Corps of the Army, July 1941, serving with distinction in the Australian and Pacific theatres of war; recently appointed to the Legion of Merit and promoted Major on citation

for "exceptionally meritorious conduct and the performance of outstanding services in pushing forward the Allies' air bases in New Guinea." Married July 4, 1937, Arvilla Randall.

3. Grosvenor, born August 12, 1907; Kent School, 1926; Yale College, ex-1930; married Mabel Gardiner Clark. Children:

- a. Jonathan Mayhew, born January 21, 1936, my godson.
- b. Anne, born August 7, 1938.

4. Ruth, born June 30, 1910, my goddaughter, a graduate of St. Timothy's School, Catonsville, Maryland, and Vassar College, 1931; member of the faculty of Miss Porter's School, Farmington, Conn.; married March 26, 1941, Dr. William McLean Wallace of Boston, Mass., now serving in European theatre in World War II as Captain, Medical Corps, A.U.S., winning Silver Star for gallantry in action.

C. Elizabeth Mayhew, born Hartford, Conn., April 16, 1878; married Dr. Joseph Barnard Hall, physician of Hartford; died at Boothbay, Maine, September 6, 1942. One child, a son:

1. Joseph Talcott *Hall*, born October 17, 1908; married at Petersburg, Virginia, October 10, 1942, Gertrude Conklin; was in the brokerage business; now a sergeant in the Signal Corps of the 7th Army; overseas since December 1942, serving in North Africa, Italy, France, and now in Germany.

D. Philip Stanley, born May 12, 1885; graduated from Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, 1908; has never married; has devoted most of his time to soldiering in the Connecticut National Guard, until recently Lieutenant Colonel commanding its cavalry; served in Mexican Border campaign, 1916; in World War I with distinction as 1st Sergeant, promoted 2nd and 1st Lieutenant 101st Machine Gun Battalion, 26th (Yankee) Division, A.E.F.

John Howard Wainwright, (See III, p. 38) my father, was born the 15th day of June, 1829, at the Rectory of Grace Church, of which his father was then rector, No. 1 Rector Street, New York City. He was named after John Howard, the famous leader

of prison reform in England, related in some manner to the family. He married, Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant, my mother, on April 6, 1861, at St. George's Church in Stuyvesant Square. He died April 6, 1871, at 19 West 33rd Street, where we were then living, in the City, and is buried in the Wainwright plot in Trinity Cemetery. He attended Dr. Muhlenberg's School at College Point, Flushing, Long Island. At the early age of thirteen, as did many lads of good family in those days, he shipped before the mast as an apprentice seaman in the Merchant Marine. He followed the sea until about twenty-two, making voyages principally to the Far East and China, rose to Mate, serving as such on one of the ships of the then important American Transatlantic Collins Line of steamers. I have his log or diary of a voyage before the mast in 1844 in the full-rigged packet ship *Natchez*, eighty-four days, from Sandy Hook to the Strait of Sunda between Java and Sumatra, continuing to China. I have always understood he served in the Navy in the Mexican War in 1848 as a yeoman, secretary or clerk to the Admiral of the fleet that took Vera Cruz.

He accompanied his father to England in 1852 on the mission to represent the Episcopal Church of America at the commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, remaining in England for a year or more. He returned to this country to enter the banking and brokerage business in Wall Street, and became one of the Vice-presidents of the New York Stock Exchange. His firm of Seton & Wainwright had offices in old Chauncey Court, at what would now be No. 37 Wall Street. Although he did not have the advantage of a college education, his natural inclination and unfailing industry gained for him a sound education and broad culture. He wrote charming poetry. A volume of his verses under the title of *Rhymings* was published by the Appletons in 1860. He also wrote several plays; one, *Rip Van Winkle*, had quite a run at a New York theatre. He was a handsome man of distinguished presence, six feet tall, of gentle kindly nature, with courtly manners, moving much in "Society," especially in literary and artistic circles in the City. He was an early

member of the Century Club, also a Free Mason, member of Holland Lodge, one of the oldest of the craft in the City. His years at sea inclined him to yachting. He owned a fair-sized sloop of his own, and was much in demand to handle the craft of others in early New York Yacht Club races.

I well recall when all four of us boys were taken on the family trip abroad in 1869-1870, traveling about quite extensively, much in the "nabob" style of the period, with courier and with nurse for little one-year old Dickie. Our return home was hastened by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. I still retain memories of the London, Paris, and Rome of those days.

Father was taken from us in his prime on April 6, 1871, in the forty-first year of his age. The tragic memory of his sudden death lingers vividly in my mind, of how on the evening before he left us he had been reading to us three older boys as was his custom before we were sent off to bed, and of how at an early morning hour of the following day he had gone down-stairs for some purpose before the house was awake. His still form was found lying on the floor in the middle parlor. He was said to have died from a stroke of apoplexy. Already he had come to mean much in our lives, through all of which his memory has been tenderly cherished and revered.

There were four of us:

- A. John Howard
- B. Stuyvesant
- C. Jonathan Mayhew
- D. Richard Tighe

We all had the advantage of considerable education abroad, as Mother took us over for several comparatively long stays, putting us at schools or with tutors in both France and Germany. Our winters were spent in the City. We went to Miss DuVernet's select school for young boys at West 29th Street, then to Dr. Callisen's in West 43rd Street, and later to Park Institute in Rye, and usually also attended the little old Milton District public school a month or more, both spring and autumn, owing

to our leaving the city early in the spring and staying late in the fall. The contacts made in those early impressionable years had decidedly broadening, beneficial and lasting influence upon our lives. Our summers, halcyon summers, were usually passed here on Milton Point.

A. John Howard Wainwright, your "Uncle Howard," was born in New York City, February 14, 1862; graduated from the Columbia School of Mines in 1882 in Chemistry, the profession of which he followed; married in New York April 28, 1886, Catherine Esther Walker, daughter of Francis Thompson Walker of New York, and Catherine Esther Penfold Walker. Howard was of a charming and winning personality, with fine, well-stored mind and memory, full of humor and gentle kindness, unselfish to a degree, one of the best all-around informed men I have ever known, devoted to the out-of-doors, an enthusiastic fisherman, a consistent and earnest Christian, vestryman for ten years of Christ's Church, Rye; an ardent Free Mason, member and Master twice of the Masonic Home at Utica, Deputy Grand Master of the Free and Accepted Masons in the State of New York. He also took a deep interest in public affairs, particularly in Rye, where he served on the Board of Village Trustees.

He was much beloved, with a wide circle of devoted friends. He died at his city house, 22 West 46th Street, December 29, 1911, in the fiftieth year of his age, and was buried in our plot in Greenwood Union Cemetery, Rye. His summer home, the "Willows," was here on Milton Point. His widow survived him until December 6, 1926.

B. Stuyvesant Wainwright, "Uncle Stuyve," born June 13, 1863, in New York City, died at his house, the "Anchorage," on Milton Point November 3, 1930; buried in Greenwood Union Cemetery, Rye; had the same schooling as the rest of us; was for many years engaged in the brokerage business in the City, but his later years were devoted mainly to his real estate interests in Rye. Though he lacked a college education he acquired a true culture and was exceedingly well read, with a refined taste in art and literature; spoke French fluently, German fairly well,

as indeed to a degree did each of us, due to advantage of early schooling abroad. Stuyve was above medium height, of graceful, lithe physique, in his early years a well-known athlete, always in the pink of condition, one of the best amateur lightweight boxers in the City; in running, came near the record of those days in both the quarter- and half-mile. From early boyhood he sailed boats; always had a boat or a yacht of some kind; recognized as one of the best amateur skippers of his day; never missed the cruise of the New York Yacht Club, of which he was a member, winning many races in the early days of the century; a Vice Commodore of the American Yacht Club, 1911-1912; President of the Long Island Sound Racing Association; charter member and an early Commodore of the Cruising Club of America, a noted deep water cruising organization. "Uncle Stuyve" with his pipe was a familiar figure in boat and yacht racing in his early days; with many cups to his credit in the cat and jib and mainsail boat sandbagger classes in the Sound; later in Sound and Ocean racing in his New York Yacht Club 30 ft. class *Cara Mia*, followed by his *Mimosa III* and *Butterfly* flying the burgee of the American Yacht Club. Before our entry into the Great War (World War I) he offered his services to the Navy and, though then past fifty-five, was accepted, commissioned and served until after the Armistice as a Junior Lieutenant, for a time as Aide to the Admiral of the Port of New York, later deck officer for several voyages on the great troop transport *Leviathan*.

He married at Haverford, Pa., September 17, 1889, Caroline Smith Snowden, daughter of Colonel A. Loudon Snowden (one-time Captain of the Philadelphia City Troop; officer in the Union Army in the Civil War, a Director of the United States Mint at Philadelphia, U. S. Minister to both Greece and Spain) and of Elizabeth Smith Snowden, of Philadelphia. That marriage, by which he had four sons, three of whom still survive, was unhappily dissolved by divorce. He later married Sarah Hughes of Brooklyn, New York, a fine woman and his very devoted wife to the end of his days. Children by his first wife:

1. Stuyvesant, born New York City January 30, 1891; attended St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire; graduated Yale 1913; volunteered in the Navy before the outbreak of World War I; fine service as Lieutenant, j.g., on U. S. destroyer *Benham* on the Queenstown patrol; banker and broker in Wall Street; married at Pittsburgh, Pa., June 14, 1924, Louise Flinn, daughter of George Flinn of Pittsburgh, Pa. Children:

a. Peter Stuyvesant, born October 2, 1925; graduated May 1944 at U. S. Merchant Marine Academy at King's Point, Long Island; now serving as Cadet Officer aboard U. S. *African Son* of American South African Line in transportation of munitions and supplies to war zones.

b. Mimi Louise, born February 24, 1927.

c. Patricia Nagley, born August 5, 1930.

2. Snowden, born Rye, October 1893; died February 22, 1894.

3. John Howard, born in Rye, February 9, 1896; served in Navy in World War I; lives in New York City.

4. Loudon Snowden, born in Philadelphia, Pa., April 5, 1898; attended Pawling School, Pawling, N. Y.; at the end of freshman year at Princeton volunteered, qualified and served as a pilot in the Army Air Service in World War I; married at Ardmore, Pa., October 27, 1923, Eleanor Painter Sloane; died January 23, 1942. One child:

a. Loudon Snowden, born December 16, 1924; left boarding school in 1942 to enlist as a private in the U. S. Marine Corps, Air Service; advanced to sergeant; now serving in Pacific Theatre of war.

5. Carroll Livingston, born Rye, December 2, 1899; an artist. Served in the Navy in World War I; married at Elkton, Maryland, May 26, 1920, Edith Gould, daughter of George Jay Gould of New York City, who died in September, 1937. Children:

a. Stuyvesant, born New York City March 16, 1921; much abroad as a child and youth; graduated from

Westminster School at Simsbury, Connecticut; entered Yale College, Class of 1943; in January 1942, while in junior class, during World War II, enlisted in the Army, received officer training, commissioned 2nd Lieutenant, assigned to duty April 1943 in the Army Intelligence Service with station at Baltimore, Md., promoted 1st Lieutenant and Captain; now on active service overseas with G 2 Section, Intelligence, Headquarters First Army, Lt. Gen. Courtney Hodges, Comdg.; service in England, the D-Day landing in Normandy and campaigns driving the Germans from Normandy; later in Germany. Married June 12, 1941, at Jourdantown, Texas, Janet I. Parsons, daughter of Thomas Crouse Parsons and Janet B. Maury Parsons, formerly of New York, now of Jourdantown. Children:

- (1) Stuyvesant, born Baltimore, Md., January 1, 1943.
- (2) Jonathan Mayhew, born Baltimore, Md., April 4, 1944, named for me.

b. Caroline, born Rye, April 9, 1924, a student at Pine Manor Junior College, Wellesley, Mass.

c. Carroll Livingston, born New York City, December 28, 1925. While still a student at St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., enlisted January 1943 in World War II in the U. S. Marine Corps, in which now serving; advanced to sergeant.

C. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright (myself), born December 10, 1864, at No. 11 West 33rd Street in the City; graduated from Columbia College, Phi Beta Kappa, and from its school of Political Science in 1884, and from the Columbia Law School in 1886; President of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association 1883-1884; Master of Arts *causa honoris* from Columbia in 1902; Columbia University Medal for Service in 1934. Admitted to the Bar in New York City, 1886; practiced law in New York City and Westchester County; law assistant with the law firm of Strong & Cadwalader, one of the oldest in New York, now Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft, in which were my respected

and good friends, John L. Cadwalader and George W. Wickersham, 1892 to 1900. In independent practice till 1913, when with Herbert Barry, Archibald G. Thacher and James K. Symmers, formed the present law firm of Barry, Wainwright, Thacher & Symmers, now at 72 Wall Street in New York City. President of the Westchester County Bar Association 1902-1903.

Elected Member of Assembly from Westchester County in 1901 as a Republican, re-elected each year till 1908, when I was elected State Senator from Westchester County, and re-elected as such in 1910; served on the Judiciary Committee in both the Assembly and Senate, and as Chairman at various times of the Committees on Education, Banks, Railways, and Military Affairs, of the Assembly, also on the Committee on Insurance of the Senate. The most notable feature of my service in the Senate was as Chairman of a Special Commission composed of members of both Houses and of others outside the Legislature to examine into and report on the then prevailing system of *Employers' Liability* and also on *Unemployment*, which Commission in 1910 reported to the Legislature the first Workmen's Compensation Act adopted by the State of New York, and except for Ohio, the first in the country, and also made recommendations which were adopted for the amelioration of unemployment. 1914-1915, served as a member of the first State Workmen's Compensation Commission.

Having a natural inclination to soldiering and some slight military training in my schooldays, I was commissioned an officer in the National Guard of this State in 1899, serving through grades, Second Lieutenant, including Captain Regimental Adjutant, to Lieutenant Colonel in the old Twelfth New York Infantry; recruited one of the additional companies for the Regiment, and served as its Captain when the Regiment became the Twelfth New York Volunteers in the War with Spain in 1898. Having been honorably discharged as Lieutenant Colonel of the 12th Regiment, N.G.N.Y. in 1906, I re-entered the State service at the time of the Mexican border trouble in 1916, being commissioned Lieutenant Colonel in the Inspector General's Department, serving on the Border as the special

representative or liaison officer of the then Governor of the State, Charles S. Whitman, with the State's National Guard in United States Service.

Having early in 1917 been, on the request of Major General John F. O'Ryan, appointed Division Inspector of the Division of the New York National Guard, I was in the World War inducted or mustered into the United States Service as Lieutenant Colonel, Division Inspector of the New York National Guard Division, which became the 27th Division, United States Army, and as such went overseas as part of the American Expeditionary Forces. I served with that division throughout the remainder of the war in all its battles and engagements in Belgium and France till the Armistice in November, 1918, and then till its return and muster out, March 31, 1919. Awarded the Distinguished Service Medal of the United States Army, Conspicuous Service Cross of the State of New York; Officer of the Legion of Honor of France; and *Croix de Guerre* with palm of Belgium.

In 1921 I was appointed by President Harding as the Assistant Secretary of War, serving under the Secretary of War, my great and revered friend, the late John W. Weeks, former United States Senator from Massachusetts.

In 1922 I was elected to the 68th Congress as a Republican Representative from the 25th District of New York, comprising the upper part of Westchester County and Rockland County; was re-elected to the 69th, 70th and 71st Congresses, serving till March 4, 1931, when I voluntarily retired from public life, except that I served from December, 1930, to July, 1936, as a member of the Westchester County Park Commission. I, for many years, have been a member of the Board of Managers of both the Seamen's Church Institute and of St. Luke's Hospital, in the City of New York.

For twenty-four years I was a vestryman, and for the past two years and more have been one of the Wardens, of Christ's Church in the town of Rye. Elected to Vestry, January 11, 1912; Senior Warden, May 18, 1936.

Although born, brought up, for the most part educated in and living in, except for the summer, New York City, since marriage I have lived in Rye, in Westchester County, practicing law in both places. I married Laura Wallace Buchanan in Trinity Chapel, New York City, on November 23, 1892. My wife was born in Shepherdstown, Virginia, the daughter of James A. Buchanan of Baltimore, Maryland, of the old Baltimore family of that name. Her mother was Rosa Parran, of the well-known Shepherdstown family. We have lived here on Milton Point in Rye, in this house of ours, overlooking the waters of beautiful Milton Harbor, since late in 1931.

Fonrose, our daughter and only child, was born December 28, 1893, at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York; married November 10, 1937, to Philip King Condict of Orange, New Jersey. He was born in Newark, N. J., graduated from Yale, 1903; until 1937 Vice-president and member of Executive Committee of the Board of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, and President of its manufacturing subsidiary; served overseas in World War I with great credit as Major, Signal Corps, A.E.F.

Fonrose has always had a fine flair for writing; articles of hers having appeared in leading publications. Before marriage was devoted principally to philanthropic activities; for several years Chairman of Dramatics of the National Federation of Settlements, and Dramatic Director of The University Settlement in Philadelphia; later did dramatic work at Henry Street Settlement, New York.

During World War I your Aunt Lal and Fonrose rendered invaluable service for enlisted men of the 27th Division while in training at Spartanburg, South Carolina, in conducting a Red Cross soldiers' canteen, and later did the same work for American soldiers and sailors at Halifax, Nova Scotia, during the summer and fall of 1918. After the Armistice until the spring of 1919 your Aunt Lal acted in the capacity of hostess at the Red Cross Institute for Blinded Soldiers, those sad victims of warfare, at Evergreen, near Baltimore, Maryland.

Most of the years of our married life have been passed in Rye, since 1931 here at Milton Point.

This stone house of ours was designed after and intended to recall the small early seventeenth-century Chateau de Raincheval, in front of Doullens, France, which served as Brigade Headquarters of the 53rd Infantry Brigade, 27th Division, A.E.F., just before we moved forward to assault the Hindenburg Line on September 29, 1918.

D. Richard Tighe Wainwright, 1868-1933, "Uncle Dick," was also born at 11 West 33rd Street, New York City, on May 17, 1868; schooling as indicated before; attended Columbia School of Architecture (Class of 1889) for almost four years, but unfortunately missed graduating, owing to necessary absence abroad; endowed with excellent qualifications for architecture, having a naturally fine sense of design and proportion, and sound judgment as to practical details; designed and superintended construction of several notable houses in Rye, including his own fine "Coveleigh" on Milton Point. Gave up architecture in early middle life for other pursuits, particularly agriculture; became President of the New York State Agricultural Society; had dairy farms, first in Harrison, Westchester County, then in Litchfield, Connecticut. Always interested in public affairs; in politics a Democrat, one time candidate for State Senator, at another time for County Treasurer of Westchester County.

In 1917, before our entry into the Great War, he took over a cargo of food supplies to Salonika, Greece, for the Servian Relief Committee; had interesting and thrilling experiences at the front with the Servian Army, at the Headquarters of the Crown Prince; the latter, on receipt of news of our entry into the war, had Dick fire at the enemy a gun of heavy calibre, said to have been our first shot on that, possibly on any, front; Dick was decorated with the Servian Order of the White Eagle with Crossed Swords.

He was from early youth devoted to yachting; at one time Commodore of the American Yacht Club, his flagship the fine medium-sized schooner *Cachelot*.

Shortly after return from a trip around the world, he died suddenly, April 28, 1933, at "Homewood," his place here on Milton Point; buried in Greenwood Union Cemetery. Dick was a man of fine presence, popular in a high degree, with much charm of manner and quite the grand air. Married April 30, 1895, in New York City, Alice Townsend Crawford, the daughter of David and Caroline Townsend Crawford of New York.

Howard, Dick and I were members of the Delta Psi Fraternity at Columbia, and all four were members of the Union Club in the City.

Dick's children were:

1. Richard Tighe, born Rye, February 2, 1896; killed by fall from his pony, June 1902.

2. Alice Crawford, born Rye, October 28, 1898; lives in New York City.

3. Margaret Stuyvesant, born Rye, November 1, 1903; married first, in Rye, Douglas Dearborn, son of the late George Dearborn of New York City; divorced. Children:

a. George *Dearborn*, born August 11, 1928.

b. David *Dearborn*, born March 23, 1930.

Married second, E. Brewster Prindle. One child:

c. Margaret Stuyvesant *Prindle*, born September 4, 1935.

4. Caroline Townsend, born Rye, August 7, 1908; married at Rye, May 13, 1929, John Farrand, son of the late Dr. Livingston Farrand, President of Cornell University. Children:

a. Livingston *Farrand*, born October 19, 1935.

b. John *Farrand*, born December 28, 1937.

c. David Crawford *Farrand*, born June 2, 1940.

5. Townsend, born Rye, September 17, 1905; attended Pomfret School, Pomfret, Connecticut; graduated Cornell University, 1928; in business as consultant and adviser to municipal and

state authorities on issue and re-adjustment of municipal securities; married first, at Ithaca, N. Y., September 30, 1928, Elizabeth Treman, daughter of Hon. Charles H. Treman of Ithaca; divorced. Children:

- a. Mary Treman, born December 30, 1932.
- b. Audrey Townsend, born February 28, 1935.

Married second, May 25, 1941, Rosalie deF. Crosby, daughter of H. Ashton Crosby and Rosalie deForest Crosby. Lives in New York City.

PHELPS

The maiden name of my Grandmother Wainwright was Amelia Maria Phelps. She was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on January 24, 1797, married August 10, 1818, in Hartford Connecticut, the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, and died in New York City on January 21, 1885.

She was the daughter of Timothy Phelps of New Haven and Janet or Jennett Broome, his first wife. Janet Broome was born in 1774 in New Haven, where she died April 25, 1802; she was the daughter of Samuel Broome, originally of New York, later of New Haven.

Grandmother was brought up in New Haven and there received an education of a high order. Her mother, Janet Broome, is said to have been the adopted daughter of Daniel Wadsworth, noted citizen and philanthropist of Hartford, who endowed the well-known Wadsworth Athenaeum in that city; he and his wife seem to have regarded grandmother in a parental capacity. She was living with them in Hartford at the time of her courtship and marriage, and I have always understood that till her death she enjoyed an annuity under Daniel Wadsworth's will. Letters recently in my possession indicate the close and intimate relationship that existed between the Wadsworths and my grandparents.

I well recall my revered Grandmother Wainwright one time, during her later years, at Aunt Lizzie Hudson's, the year before she died. Following the wedding reception of one of her grandchildren, some of us came trooping in to pay her our respects and tell her all about the ceremony. As she asked, "Whose funeral did you say it was?" and we explained that it was a wedding, not a funeral, she remarked, "Ah, my dears, at my time of life, weddings and funerals are all the same."

The earliest Phelps for whom we have a definite date is William Phelps, born in Tewkesbury, England, the son of James Phelps, also of Tewkesbury. He and his wife Dorothy had a son, William.

This son, William Phelps, baptized in 1599 in Tewkesbury Abbey Church, Gloucestershire, England, emigrated with his wife (name and date of marriage unknown) and six children to Massachusetts in 1630, being among the first settlers of Dorchester, Massachusetts, from which he was at one time Deputy to the General Court of Massachusetts. In 1635 he with others moved to and settled Windsor, Connecticut, where he became a man of consequence, identified prominently with the life and public affairs of the community and at one time one of its magistrates. Stiles, in his history of Windsor, says he "ranked as an honored and active citizen . . . He was an excellent, pious and upright man in his public and private life, and was truly a pillar in church and state."¹ He died in Windsor, July 14, 1672.

Of his sons, we are descended from Nathaniel Phelps, born in England about 1627. He emigrated with his father to New England, first living in Dorchester, and moving to Windsor in 1635-36, where in 1650 he married Elizabeth Copley, said to have been of the same family as the later celebrated artist, John Copley. In 1656 he became one of the first settlers of Northampton, Massachusetts, where thereafter he lived and where on May 27, 1702, he died at the age of seventy-five.

Next in the line of our succession was his son, Deacon Nathaniel Phelps, born Windsor, Connecticut, January 2, 1653. The family moved in 1656 to Northampton, where he married Grace Martin on August 11, 1676, and where he lived out his life, dying June 19, 1719. He was a deacon of the church and active in town affairs. He had eight children, our ancestor being his son Timothy.

Timothy Phelps was born in Northampton in 1697 and died in Suffield, Connecticut, on December 3, 1797-8. In 1725 he married Abigail Merrick (born Springfield, Massachusetts, April 5, 1702; died August 16, 1791), the daughter of Captain John Merrick. We are descended from their son John.

¹ Stiles, Henry R., *The History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut*. Hartford, 1892, II, p. 594.

John Phelps, born Suffield, Connecticut, January 8, 1738, married in 1754 Mary Richardson, daughter of Lady Abigail and William Richardson, of Edinburgh, Scotland. The following romantic tale was told of this marriage. John Phelps' father, the above Timothy, was in moderate circumstances; the Richardsons, wealthy and aristocratic. The tender affair failed to find favor with Mary's mother, who, claiming they were too young to marry, locked Mary in her room to prevent a meeting with her lover. But, with the assistance of an old nurse, Mary escaped from the house at night, ran off with and married her John. Lady Abigail later became entirely reconciled to the marriage and lived to see her son-in-law a man of wealth, a highly respected and influential citizen.

John Phelps settled in Stafford Springs, Connecticut, where he held the office of Justice of the Peace for many years and became Judge of the County Court at Hartford in 1777-1778. He was representative from his town in the Connecticut Assembly 1776-1778 and a delegate to the Connecticut State Convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States. He was interested in the manufacture of iron and was part owner of a large foundry or blast furnace in New Haven where implements of war were manufactured for the Revolutionary forces. In 1776, 1777, and 1778 he was a member of the committee appointed by the Governor and Assembly of Connecticut to procure fire-arms and supplies for the army. He died in Stafford Springs about 1805. He was familiarly known as both "Judge" and "Major," though there is no evidence that he ever served in a military capacity. We are descended from his son Timothy.

Timothy Phelps was born in Stafford Springs, Connecticut, in 1757, graduated from Yale, was a large iron manufacturer and shipper in New Haven, and had interests in the West Indies. He apparently lived in comfort, for it is said that he had a tutor for his youngest son and provided maids of their own for all his sons. He died on a voyage from LaGuayra, Venezuela, to St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, on November 20, 1812.

His first marriage, as has been stated, was to Janet Broome. My grandmother, Amelia Maria Phelps, was a daughter of this marriage. After the death of Janet, Timothy married, in 1803, her sister, Henrietta.

By his first wife he had seven children; by his second, five. Among the latter was Henry, born 1811, who married Catherine Wilkins, granddaughter of the Reverend Isaac Wilkins, first rector of St. Peter's Church in Westchester, whose wife, Catherine Morris, was a sister of Gouverneur Morris of Morrisania, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. That Henry was the father of another Henry, whom I well remember as Supervisor of the old town of New Rochelle, a genial fine gentleman, who also married a Morris, granddaughter of Lewis Morris, another signer of the Declaration of Independence. This Henry Phelps had four children, one the beautiful "Nellie" Phelps (wife of Colonel Robert Temple Emmet of the Army, mother of the present Captain Robert Morris Emmett of the Navy) and three sons: Robert Morris Phelps, "Bobbie," a great friend of your Uncle Howard, died many years ago; Edgar Morris Phelps, who married Caroline H. Kane and lives in Newport, R. I.; and Dr. Gouverneur Morris Phelps, of Babylon, Long Island.

The Phelps family has for generations been among the most prominent in the public and cultural life of our country, contributing its members to the service of the nation in diplomacy, the army and the navy, the bar, judiciary and learned professions.

MAYHEW

Thomas Mayhew.....Baptized in Tisbury, England, 1593; died in 1682. Migrated to New England about 1631. First Governor of Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands. The progenitor of the Mayhew family in this country.

He was the father of:

Thomas Mayhew.....Died at sea, 1657. Known as New England's "Young Scholar."

He was the father of:

John Mayhew.....Born on Martha's Vineyard in 1652 died there 1688-89. Clergyman at Tisbury on the Vineyard.

He was the father of:

Experience Mayhew.....Born on Martha's Vineyard in 1673; died there 1758. Clergyman and Missionary to the Indians. Translated the Bible into Algonquin.

He was the father of:

Jonathan Mayhew.....Born on Martha's Vineyard in 1720; died in Boston, 1766. Pastor of the West Church in Boston.

He was the father of:

Elizabeth Mayhew.....Was the wife of Peter Wainwright, the immigrant; born in Boston, Massachusetts 1759; died in Liverpool, England, 1829.

MAYHEW

The name Mayhew is associated in the minds of most of us with Jonathan Mayhew, pre-Revolutionary divine and patriot of Boston, the Bishop's grandfather. But there were Mayhews who preceded Jonathan equally entitled to consideration, the Puritan Mayhews of the island of Martha's Vineyard, off the coast of Massachusetts.

The facts surrounding the settlement of the Island and the ministry to the Island Indians have until recently been too little known or recognized as a distinct and unique chapter in our colonial history, particularly in respect to the conversion of the aborigines to Christianity. The story of the Mayhews in fact covers the early history of Martha's Vineyard. For five generations they carried on with singular success their missionary endeavors.

The first was Thomas Mayhew (1593-1682) who came to this country in about 1631 in that great wave of Puritan Englishmen which flowed into New England in the 1620's and 1630's, following the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock. He was one of the venturesome souls in that brave migration, who bade farewell to the homeland forever, and came to a primeval land to escape persecution and to seek freedom and the right to worship God as reason and conscience dictated.

Thomas Mayhew came from Tisbury in Wiltshire, England. The records of the parish church of Tisbury, the eleventh-century church of St. John the Baptist, show that Thomas, son of Matthew and Alice (Barter) Mayhew, was baptized on April 1, 1593. They also record the marriage on October 2, 1587, of "Matthew Maow and Ales Barter." Matthew, born about 1550, was buried in the Tisbury churchyard on February 26, 1613-14. The evidence is fairly conclusive that this Matthew was the son of a Thomas Mayhew, born about 1509, third son of Robert Mayhew or Mayow, who was himself the oldest son and heir of Simon Mayow, "Gent. of Dynton com. Wilts." The pedigree of Simon is filed with his grant of arms in the College of Heralds. It

shows that the wife of Robert Mayow was "Joan Bridmore, dau. of John, of Tisbury Co. Wilts."¹ In Somerset House may be found the Will of Matthew, dated the last day of August, 1612, in which he bequeaths "to my sonne Thomas Maihew Forty pounds of good and lawful monie of England." The wife of Matthew, Alice or "Ales" Barter is believed to have been the daughter of Edward Barter, the son of James Barter of Fovent, Wilts.²

No information has come to light as to the early days of Thomas, later Governor, Mayhew, though presumably they were spent at Tisbury. We first find him registered in February, 1620, at Southampton, not far from Tisbury, as a "Free Commoner" entitled to "use his trade of a mercer in Said Towne," with the general privilege "to engage in any arte scyence or occupation withyn the towne." His "trade" was in silks and woolens. In England, about 1619, he married his first wife. Her name is not definitely known, but by family tradition it was Abigail Parkus or Parkhurst.³ By her he had one son, Thomas, Jr. who was to accompany his father to this side of the water.

In about 1631 Thomas, Sr., came out to Massachusetts as agent or factor of Thomas Cradock, a prominent London merchant with important interests in Massachusetts. Thomas, Sr., first settled at Medford, near Boston, occupying the "greate stone house" built for and owned by his principal. He lived in Medford for five years, and soon became an important man in the community, acquiring considerable property and being entrusted with

¹ The arms, "Argent, on a chevron between three sea mews sa. (sable), five lozenges of the field with a crescent for difference," are identical with those upon the seal with which our Thomas Mayhew, Sr. sealed his last Will and Testament in 1682, the year he died, and appears also on other instruments executed by him. The mullet for difference indicates descent from the third son of an armorial grantee.

² Banks, Charles E., *History of Martha's Vineyard*, Boston, 1911. Vol. I, pp. 104-114.

³ Banks, I, p. 115.

many public responsibilities. In 1634 he was admitted as a Freeman of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and in 1636 was elected Deputy from Medford to the General Court. In 1637, Cradock, having become dissatisfied with his factor's stewardship, terminated the relationship. Thomas Mayhew then removed to Watertown, where his difficulties with Cradock do not appear to have affected his standing, for in the same year Watertown also returned him as its representative to the General Court and chose him as a Selectman, in both of which responsible offices he continued until his removal to Martha's Vineyard about nine years later. In Watertown he became a large landowner and engaged in many public and private enterprises, including the operation of a mill he had built for the joint account of Cradock and himself, of which he became sole owner. He also built a toll bridge over the Charles River. But the tide of depression which afflicted the colony in the late 1630's drove him, with many others, into financial straits.

In about 1634 he married for a second time; whether in England or Massachusetts is not known. His second wife was Jane Paine, widow of Thomas Paine, a London merchant. By tradition her maiden name was Gallion. Four daughters were born of this marriage.

In 1641 an important venture changed the course of his life. In that year he, with his son, Thomas, Jr., bought Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and the Elizabeth Islands, off the coast of Cape Cod. These islands were not included in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The land had been originally granted to the Plymouth Company; then later a new charter was issued to a so-called New England Council, composed of prominent people in England, including many noblemen. Massachusetts, however, grew out of a separate grant to the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1628. Part of Maine had, moreover, been granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the New England Council. In 1634 the charter of the New England Council was surrendered to the Crown, and its territories were divided among certain of the Council's members. Descriptions in many of the grants were vague or conflicting.

For this reason the Earl of Sterling and Sir Ferdinando Gorges each laid claim to the islands off Cape Cod. Each had his representative or agent over here; the Earl of Sterling, a Mr. James Forrett; Gorges, a Mr. Richard Vines, or Vynes. Forrett first offered to sell his principal's claim to Thomas Mayhew, Sr. Though the latter was not then enjoying the smiles of fortune, the prospect of owning these fine islands, then uninhabited except by the Indians, so appealed to him that a bargain was struck. By deed dated October 13, 1641, Forrett, acting under commission from "the Honorable ye Lord Sterling" conveyed to "Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, Merch. & to Thomas Mayhew his sonne . . . free Liberty and full Power . . . to Plant & Inhabit upon Nantucket & two other small Islands adjacent," one of the conditions being that the government they should set up should be such as is now established in "ye Massachusetts aforesaid."⁴ The consideration, though not recited in the deed, is said to have been the then not insignificant sum of £40.

Ten days later, by deed dated October 23, 1641, the purchase was enlarged by grant to the two Mayhews of "as much Liberty to Implant upon Martha's Vineyard & Elizabeth Islands" as they had been granted for Nantucket. Vines, somewhere in the offing, learning of these transactions, wasted no time in likewise bringing forward his master's claim. In Mayhew Sr.'s quaint language, Vines "heareing of it, Enterrupted me, showing me his Master's patent and his Power, insomuch that I was convinced by him and Thomas Gorges (Sir Ferdinando's nephew, who was then Governor of the Maine Province) that it was really Sir Fernando's right." So Mayhew, to further secure himself, "for a some of Money (amount undisclosed) did obtaine from said Vynes a Graunt alsoe,"⁵ namely a deed dated October 25, 1641, by which Richard Vines of Saco, Gent. Steward Gen^{rel} for Sr

⁴ *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, 1668-1673*, Vol. I, p. 345.

⁵ Banks, I, p. 81.

Ferdinando Gorges, K^t & Lord Proprietor of ye Province of Mayne Land and ye Islands of Cappawok (Martha's Vineyard) & Nautican (Nantucket) doe . . . give full pow^r & authority unto Thomas Mayhew Gent. his Heyres & Associates to plant & Inhabit upon ye Island of Cappawok . . . to enjoy the premises to Himself, Heyres & Associates forever.”⁶

By these conveyances the Mayhews, father and son, together acquired the Sterling right to Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and the Elizabeth Isles; and Thomas, Sr., acquired alone the Gorges title to Martha's Vineyard. The two later fortified themselves with Indian grants to these islands.

Thomas Mayhew, Sr., by a deed dated July 2, 1659, parted with his right to Nantucket to Tristram Coffin and eight associates for the consideration recited in the deed “of ye sume of Thirty pounds of current pay . . . And also two Beaver Hatts, one for myselfe & one for my wife.”⁸ Thomas Jr. kept his right to Nantucket.

Since the fame of the early Mayhews rests principally on their work in christianizing the Martha's Vineyard Indians, I have relied for my narrative mainly upon the source on which most of what has been written on the subject is based, namely, a now rare book, published in London in 1727, entitled “*Indian Converts, or Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard in New England.*” The Reverend Experience Mayhew, father of Jonathan Mayhew, is the author of this study. Within the cover of the same book is “*Some Account of Those English Ministers Who Have Successively Presided Over the Work of Gospelizing the Indians on Martha's Vineyard and the Adjacent Islands,*” by the Reverend Thomas Prince, a notable Puritan divine, wherein the story of the early Mayhews of Martha's Vine-

⁶ Material in this paragraph and the preceding one taken from *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York*, loc. cit., pp. 345-347.

⁸ *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York*, loc. cit., p. 349.

yard is graphically related. From this latter "Account" by Prince I quote liberally, that you may not only have the benefit of the story in its original charm and quaintness, but may also acquire a true picture of those early ancestors of yours and an authoritative account of their labors and achievements in the missionary field.

The preface to the volume, bearing the signatures of Cotton Mather and other Puritan ministers, briefly tells the story of the original purchase and settlement of the Vineyard:

"Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Senior, coming over as a Merchant to the Massachusetts, in the early times of that Plantation, and meeting with Disappointments in his Business, he first purchases a Farm at Watertown, and applies himself to Husbandry; and then in 1641 he procures a Grant or Patent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Earl of Sterling's Agent,⁹ for Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and Elizabeth Isles, to make an English Settlement &c.

In 1642, he sends Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., his only Son, being then a young Scholar about 21 Years of Age, with some other Persons, to the Vineyard, where they settled at the East End; and quickly after the Father followed, and became their Governor. But because the Son appears to be the first that laboured in the Indian Service, on those Islands, I shall therefore here begin with him."

Thus Thomas, Jr., preceding his father, first undertook the settlement of Martha's Vineyard in 1642 with a small company of English. They named their settlement at the East End, "Great Harbor." After the Islands fell under the domination of the Duke of York, that name was changed to "Edgartown" in honor of an infant son of the Duke, who at that time was not known to have died. At the time of the settling of the Island, Thomas, Jr., son of his father's first wife, had married Jane Paine, his stepmother's daughter by her first husband.

The Narrative of the Reverend Prince proceeds with:

"THE REVEREND THOMAS MAYHEW, JUNIOR, THE ONLY SON OF THE WORSHIPFUL THOMAS MAYHEW, ESQ.

⁹ Inaccurate, J. M. W.

He was a young Gentleman of liberal Education, and of such Repute for Piety as well as natural and acquired Gifts, having no small Degree of Knowledge in the Latin and Greek Languages, and not being wholly a Stranger to the Hebrew, that soon after their Settlement on the Island the new Plantation called him to the Ministry among them.

But his English flock being then but small, the Sphere was not large enough for so bright a Star to move in. With great compassion he beheld the wretched Natives, who then were several thousands on those Islands, perishing in utter Ignorance of the true God, and eternal Life, labouring under strange Delusions, Inchantments and panick Fears of Devils, whom they most passionately worshipped, and in such miserable case as those (Eph. II:12). 'Without Christ, being Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel, and Strangers from the Covenants of Promise, having no Hope, and without God in the World.' But God who had ordained him for an Evangelist for the Conversion of these Indian Gentiles, stirred him up with an holy Zeal and Resolution, to labour their Illumination and Deliverance."

The success of the thirteen years Thomas, Jr., devoted to the conversion of the Indians to Christianity is related in the "Account" in considerable detail. Prince then goes on to describe the loss of Thomas in 1657, in the thirty-seventh year of his age:

(Thomas, Jr.) "intended a short Voyage to England, to give a more particular Account of the State of the Indians than he could well do by Letters, and to pursue the most proper Measures for the further Advancement of Religion among them.

He accordingly took Passage in a Ship with his Wife's own Brother, and with an Indian who was a Preacher among the Natives. But alas! the mysterious Ways of Providence! neither the Ship nor any of the Passengers were ever heard of more!

Thus came to an immature Death Mr. Mayhew, Junior; who was so affectionately beloved and esteemed of the Indians, that they could not easily bear his Absence so far as Boston, before they longed for his Return; and for many years after his Departure, he was seldom named without Tears.

I have myself seen the Rock on a descending Ground, upon which he used to stand and preach to great numbers crowding to hear him: And the Place on the Wayside where he solemnly and affectionately took leave of that poor and beloved People of his, was for all that Generation remembered with Sorrow."

In a letter of the famous Mr. Eliot,¹⁰ dated December 28 of the following year, and published in London in 1659, he thus expressed himself: "The Lord has given us this amazing Blow, to take away my Brother Mayhew. His aged Father does his endeavour to uphold the Work among the poor Indians, whom by Letters I have encouraged what I can, &c."

This voyage was undertaken by Thomas, Jr., not only to report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, an organization established by Parliament which had assumed jurisdiction over the Mayhew missionary work, but also to investigate a property interest of his wife in connection with the estate of her father, Thomas Paine.

The "Place on the Wayside" where the Indians bade farewell to their beloved shepherd is, as it was in those days, a lonely spot about five miles from Edgartown on the road to Gayhead. It is marked by a pile of stones, said to have been laid there by the Indians; according to tradition, for years no Indian passed that way without reverently laying a stone at that place. The pile so created, now cemented together along with a boulder in front bearing a bronze tablet suitably inscribed, is now enclosed by an iron fence.

The younger Mayhew is said to have been the first student in New England educated in the higher branches of learning, becoming known as New England's "young scholar;" he is also said to have been "tutored up" in New England, thus explaining his liberal education and knowledge of Latin and Greek and some Hebrew.¹¹ Having been but twenty-one on first going to the Vineyard, he might well have been in one of the early classes at Harvard, which had been founded in 1636. However, had such been the case, it probably would have been noted. Yet, among those who came to New England in the early days were

¹⁰ John Eliot, the great Missionary to the Connecticut Indians.

¹¹ Hare, Lloyd M., *Thomas Mayhew*, New York 1932, p. 88.

many men of superior education, with Oxford or Cambridge training, well capable of tutoring upon the youthful Thomas.

Prince's account continues with:

"THE WORSHIPFUL THOMAS MAYHEW, ESQ., THE FATHER OF THE OTHER.

This Gentleman was both Patentee and Governour of this and the neighboring Islands, as has been stated.

From the beginning, in addition to his preoccupations in connection with the settlement and government of the Island, he had collaborated with his son in the missionary work.

And while his Son was with such Success endeavouring to gospelize the Natives, the Father greatly favoured and encouraged the Work and forwarded his Son therein; not only by affording his best Advice, but also by labouring in a most prudent manner with the Indian Sachims, to govern their People according to the English Laws, and at length to submit to the Authority of the Crown of England, and admit of such as were best qualified to assist them in Government: By affording them his own Help also, and so wisely managing Affairs among them, that in a little time he was most highly esteemed and reverenced by them, and even generally looked upon as both their principal *Ruler* and *Patron*." . . .

"This Gentleman observing that the Indian Governments were absolute Monarchies, one main Obstruction to the Progress of the Gospel in the Island, seemed to be the Jealousy the Princes conceived of the Invasion of their Government thro' the Pretence of Religion, and the eclipsing of their Monarchical Dignity: and finding that the Princes on these Islands, tho they maintained their absolute Power as Kings, were yet bound to do a certain Homage to a more potent Prince on the bordering Continent; tho they were no great People, had yet been wasted by internecine Wars, wherein the greater Princes of the Main, not unlike European Princes, for like Reasons of State, were not unassisting; whereby tho the Islanders were necessitated to make those Princes the Ballance or Umpires to decide their Controversies, by Presents annually sent to oblige them to give their Assistance as occasion required. And seeing his Son as aforesaid, in a zealous Endeavour for their Conversion, he judges it meet, that as Moses and Aaron they should unite in their several Places to promote the great Design; and therefore he most wisely takes the Advantage of this Situation of the Indian Affairs to attach them to him by the following method.

He tells the Island-Indians 'That by order from the Crown of England, he was to govern the English who should inhabit these Islands; that his Royal Master was in Power far above any of the Indian Monarchs.' But that as he was great and powerful, so he was a Lover of Justice; that therefore he would in no measure invade their Jurisdictions, but on the contrary, assist them, if need required; that Religion and Government were distinct things, and their Sachims might retain their just Authority, though their Subjects were Christians. And thus, in no time, he brought them to no ill Opinion of the Christian Religion."

* * * * *

"By his prudent Measures and Reasonings, he brought even the Princes themselves, with their Sachims or Nobles, to see the distinguishing Excellence of the English Government. And in his Administration, he gave them so fair an example of the Happiness of it, as not only charmed them into an earnest Desire of copying after it, and coming into the same Form themselves, but even induced them to make a publick and free Acknowledgment of their Subjection to the Crown of England: Tho still they were always mindful to be understood as subordinate Princes, to govern according to the Laws of God and the King, which they were much aspired to know."

* * * * *

"He took care to keep up the State of Authority of a Royal Governour, not with ostentatious Pomp or Show, but with such superior constant Gravity, and wise and exact Behavior, as always raised and preserved their Reverence; and so to govern, as that his Acts of Favor appeared to proceed, not from Fear, Constraint, or Political Causes, but from a gracious and condescending Temper of Mind; and to make it evident, that he was not ruled by Self interest, Will or Humour, but by Wisdom, Goodness, Justice, Reason and the Laws of God.

By such wise and Christian conduct, there was no Difference between the English and Indians on these Islands, as long as he lived among them, which was for nearly forty years. The Indians admired and loved him as the most superior Person they had ever seen before; and they esteemed themselves so safe and happy in him, that he could command them anything without giving them Uneasiness; they being satisfied he did it because it was most fit and proper, and in due time it would appear to be so.

And by such means as these, he not only gained their perfect Confidence in him, but also most firmly attached them to him, and to the English Interest. A remarkable Instance whereof they gave in a time of the greatest Danger; and it is as follows:

During the late distressing War between the English and Indians in New England in the years 1675 and 1676 (King Philip's War), wherein almost all the Indian Nations on the Main were united against us, a censorious spirit possessed too many of the English, whereby they suffered themselves to be unreasonably exasperated against all the Indians, without distinction."

The Account further relates how the English wished to disarm the Indians, who were twenty to one against them and had arms which they were unwilling to give up, claiming that the mainland Indians were as much their enemies as enemies of the English. Finally these Island Indians were furnished with ammunition and entrusted with the defence of the entire island.

"They drew a writing in their own Language, wherein they declared, That as they had submitted freely to the Crown of England, so they resolved to assist the English on these Islands against their Enemies, which they accounted equally their own, as Subjects to the same King. And this was subscribed by Persons of the greatest Note and Power among them.

Having this Return, the Governour resolved, and accordingly employed them as a Guard in this time of eminent Danger; furnishing them with suitable Ammunition, and giving them Instructions how to manage for the common Safety. And so faithful were they, that they not only resolutely rejected the strong and repeated Sollicitations of the Natives on the neighboring Main, but in observance of the general Orders given them, when any landed from thence to sollicit them, tho some were nearly related by Marriage, and others by Blood, yet the Island Indians would immediately bring them before the Governor to attend his Pleasure; yea, so entire and firm did their Friendship appear, that tho the War, on account of the Multitudes of Indians then on the Main, had a very dismal Aspect; yet the English on these Islands took no care of their own Defence, but left it wholly to these Christian Indians to watch for and guard them; not doubting to be advertised by them of any approaching Danger from the Enemy. And thus, while the

War was raging in a most dreadful manner thro'out the Neighboring Countries, these Islands enjoyed a perfect Calm of Peace; and the People wrought, and dwelt secure and quiet.

This was the genuine and happy effect of Mr. Mayhew, the Governor's excellent Conduct, and of the Introduction of the Christian Religion among them."

It is doubtful if in the whole course of colonial relations with the Indians any episode could equal or approach the foregoing in uniqueness, dramatic force and interest.

"His grave and majestick Presence accompany'd with his superior Station struck an Awe into their Minds, and always raised their great Attention to what he spake; and his Words were so wise and weighty, and expressed with so much Concern and Seriousness, as, by God's Blessing, made such deep Impressions on many, that they could never lose."

* * * * *

"He determines frequently to visit and encourage these poor People. He goes once every Week to some of their Plantations. At so advanced an Age¹² he sets himself with unwearyed Diligence to perfect himself in their difficult Language; and tho a Governour, yet is not ashamed to become a Preacher among them.

He ordinarily preached to some of their Assemblies one Day every Week, as long as he lived. And his Heart was so exceedingly engaged in the Service, that he spared no Pains nor Fatigues, at so great an Age therein; sometimes travelling on Foot nigh twenty miles thro' the Woods, to preach and visit, when there was no English House near to lodge at, in his Absence from home."

* * * * *

"So that now the Indians on the Isles of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, might justly bear the name of Christian; the number of their Adults on both these Islands being then about three thousand."

In 1670 an Indian Church was completely organized. This relieved the old man of much of the responsibility he had assumed, but did not

¹² He was sixty-four when his son sailed for England.

"abate of his ministerial Care or Pains for these aboriginal Natives, but this honorouble and ancient Gentleman still proceeds in the laborious Work, even to the ninety-third year of his Age and the twenty-third of his Ministry, which was in 1681¹³ when he dies to the great Lamentation of both the English and Indians."

Now, as to government, you will recall that the grant from Lord Sterling required that a government be set up "such as then established in the Massachusetts Colony," a requirement hardly adapted to a handful of English on a far away island. For some years the settlers willingly submitted to Thomas, Sr.'s purely personal rule, coming to regard him as "Governor" with an unlimited authority. He provided for their defence by organizing a military company or training band. In 1653, eleven years after the first settlement, with Mayhew's assent the settlers at Great Harbor elected him and six others to act for a year as a sort of legislative and judicial council, with Mayhew as Chief Magistrate.¹⁴ In 1658 he became sole magistrate. Dissatisfaction appears to have arisen as to his unrestricted rule, for in 1661 he himself proposed a form of proprietary government, under laws to be enacted by the "pattentees and freeholders" or by "the Single Person (Mayhew himself) and the freeholders." In 1668 we find an enactment declaring that "itt is ordered by myself and the major part of the freeholders."¹⁵ Thus there was a gradual development from absolute authority to limited representative government. The time required for this change, however, indicates a rather grudging willingness on the part of the Governor to surrender any of his authority.

But that he governed wisely and well appears from the subsequent endorsement of his rule and the trust and confidence reposed in him by the superior authority to whom he was later

¹³ 1682, J. M. W.

¹⁴ Hare, p. 78.

¹⁵ Hare, p. 80

obliged to submit, namely the representative of the Duke of York. This situation arose when the latter's grant from King Charles II was extended to include the islands off Cape Cod.

In 1664, the year the Dutch rule of New Netherland ended and the colony became known as New York, Charles II, claiming by superior right the vast territory comprising New York and New Jersey, granted all that territory, with Long Island and the Cape Cod Islands added, to his brother, then Duke of York, later King James II. The Duke had already acquired by purchase the Sterling titles, either unaware of or disregarding the previous grant by Sterling's agent of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket to the Mayhews. In 1671 James Lovelace, Governor under the Duke of the Province of New York, called in question the Mayhew's right to Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands and the right of the Coffin group to Nantucket which was derived from Mayhew, Sr. Lovelace accordingly summoned the Mayhews and the Nantucket people to come down to New York to justify their respective claims, since Matthew Mayhew, the eldest son of Thomas, Jr., had personally appeared before Governor Lovelace but had been unable to satisfy the Governor as to the Mayhew rights. It will be remembered that for Martha's Vineyard, Thomas Mayhew, Sr., had always relied principally on his deed from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, notwithstanding the fact that he and Thomas, Jr., had deeds from the Earl of Sterling to all three, the Vineyard, Nantucket and the Elizabeth Isles.

On May 16, 1670, Lovelace wrote to Thomas Mayhew, referring to "yor L^{re} by yo^r Grandchild wherein I am informed upon what terms you have hitherto held yo^r Land at Martins Vineyard and places adjacent." Lovelace declared "y^e p^rtences of Sr Ferdinando Gorges & y^e Lord Sterling, being now at an end, & his Royall Highnesse absolutely invested in y^e Right to those Islands y^e Inhabitants are henceforth to have directions of their Governm^t from this place." The summons was tactful; "take yo^r best time of coming this Summer, as you shall fynde yo^r self disposed . . . bring all yo^r Patents, deeds or other wrytings

wth you relating to those parts" so that Lovelace might "y^e bett^r take ord^r for y^e future good settlem^t of those Islands." Thus the old man was put on notice that the bases of his proprietorship, Gorges as well as Sterling, were brushed aside.

Mayhew did indeed take "his best time" in coming, but finally, more than a year later, embarked for New York, accompanied by Matthew. When he did appear, the impression made on the Duke of York's Governor was so favorable that an order was entered:

"At a Council held at Forte James in New York ye 7th day of July in ye 23rd year of his Maties Reigne, anno Dom 1671,

Whereas Mr. Thomas Mayhew of Martins or Marthas Vineyard hath been an ancient Inhabitant there, where by God's Blessing hee hath been an instrumt of doeing a great deal of Good, both in settling several Plantations there, as also in reclayming & Civilizing ye Indyans, for an Encouragement to him in prosecucion of this Designe, & in acknowledg^{mt} of his Good Services

It is ordered & Agreed upon that ye said Mr. Thomas Mayhew shall dureing his naturall Life bee Governor of ye Island called Martins or Martha's Vineyard both over ye English Inhabitants & Indyans for which hee shall have a Commission."

The order further established local courts of justice, one for Martha's Vineyard, with jurisdiction up to five pounds, with the Governor as Chief Magistrate; three associates were to be elected, with the Governor to have a double vote. The second court dealt jointly with Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, for causes between five and fifty pounds; of this too Thomas Mayhew was to be President for life, with the privilege of a double or casting vote.

The commission, bearing the date July 8, 1671, appointed Thomas Mayhew "Governor and Chiefe Magistrate of ye said Island of Martin's or Martha's Vineyard dureing his naturall Life," and required all persons "to give to ye said Mr. Thomas Mayhew such Respect and Obedience as belongs to a Person invested by Commission & Authority from his Royal Highness in ye office & employm^t of a Governo^r & Chiefe Magistrate in ye Island aforesaid."

Thus, the title of Governor, borne in name by Mayhew for so many years, became such in fact and in law, giving you the right to claim descent from a true colonial governor. Mayhew had earned that right and that title, not through favor or influence, but by having "by God's Blessing been an instrument of doing much good," in acknowledgment of "Good Services," because this new superior authority had, as recited in the commission, conceived a good opinion of his "Capacity & Integrity . . . to be Governo^r & Chief^e Magistrate of ye Island of Martins or Martha's Vineyard to manage public affayres."

Two days later his grandson Matthew was honored with a commission as "Collector & Receiver of his Ma^{ties} Customes" for Martha's Vineyard, undoubtedly a responsible, though hardly lucrative, office.

Furthermore, important from the practical standpoint, they received confirmation of their right to all lands purchased from the Indians, such right being definitely based on their Sterling grants. They were granted as well the privilege of buying any land not as yet covered by Indian grants. This last may have been a left-handed way of recognizing both the Sterling and the Gorges grants, notwithstanding that they had previously been declared void.

Another mark of recognition emphasized the favorable impression made by the Mayhews on the ducal Governor. The travelers carried back to the Vineyard something perhaps even more desirable from the point of view of the old man, a manorial grant bearing the same date as the commission. The estate covered a considerable part of the Vineyard, including the whole township of Chilmark and part of Tisbury together with two of the Elizabeth Islands. It was to be named "Tisbury Manor," probably because the old man wished to honor the place of his birth in old England.

The "Patent or Confirmacon of Tisbury Mannor unto Mr. Thomas Mayhew & Mr. Matthew Mayhew his Grand Childe" recites the grant of Martha's Vineyard to Thomas, Sr., and to

his deceased son Thomas, Jr., by "James Forrett Agent to William Earle of Sterling, in whom the Government then was." and relates that a considerable part had been purchased by the Mayhews, father and son, from the "Indian Proprietors." It describes in detail the parcels of land which should constitute the Manor, recited as being in the grantees' "quiet possession," thus leading to the belief that the manorial lands on Martha's Vineyard included the greater part of all the lands not conveyed to others, and of course the home plot at Great Harbor. These lands were to "bee holden according to the Customs of the Mannor of East Greenwch in the County of Kent in England in free and common Soccage & by Fealty only," the grantees, their heirs and assigns, "forever Yielding Rendring & Paying therefore Yearly & every Yeare" to the Duke of York, his heirs and assigns, "two Barrells of Good Merchantable Cod-Fish to be Delivered at the Bridge in this City,"¹⁶ a stipulation maybe presenting some difficulties of fulfillment.

Thus Thomas Mayhew, Sr., became not only a full-fledged Colonial Governor but a Colonial Lord of a Manor as well. During his remaining years he tenaciously maintained his right, as did also Matthew and those who followed in the manorial line. Much opposition, indignation, litigation, and even violence, resulted, for resentment at the introduction of any such privilege became open and widespread on their Island. None of the manorial land on the Vineyard was alienated during Mayhew, Sr.'s lifetime except for two pieces to his grandsons, Thomas and John; but he did assign away one of the Elizabeth Islands. There is no record of the Governor's having built for himself a manor house unless the house of his son John, built in Chilmark — where Experience Mayhew lived and died, and where possibly Jonathan Mayhew was also born — may have fulfilled any technical requirement in that respect. The Governor himself con-

¹⁶ Banks, II, *Annals of Chilmark*, p. 18. The bridge was one of three such, over the Heer Gracht or Great Canal, now Broad Street, the exchange for transacting business.

tinued to live at Edgartown.¹⁷ After his death, in spite of the opposition of the settlers, Matthew and his successors uniformly required acknowledgment of the manorial right by exacting quit rents in conveyances such as "'a good chees . . . one nutmeg . . . one mink skin . . . six peckes of good wheat;" one as late as 1732 stipulated "'Quitt-rents which shall hereafter become due unto the Lord of the Mannor . . . one Lamb.'"¹⁸ Indeed, notwithstanding continued protest, the manorial right was tenaciously insisted upon up to the days of the Revolution, when claims of such privilege became outlawed, or at least outmoded.

The grant of manorial rights did not raise Thomas Mayhew to noble rank, but he appears so to have assumed for in a deed dated March 5, 1682 (Original in the possession of the Duke's County Historical Society, Edgartown), written a few days before his death, conveying to Matthew the dwelling house and forty acres of land in Edgartown, there is a provision that "if it should fortune the said Matthew Mayhew or his heirs male to decease without issue male, then the above lands and premises to descend to the next noble of the Blood."

In his Will, "which I praise God I have written with my own hand this sixteenth day of June & sealed itt with my seal Anno Domini 1681," where he leaves Matthew other lands, the Governor declares "he, Matthew, hath a Paper already for my house and land," evidently referring to some instrument previous to the deed described above.

The old Governor continued his ministration to both Indians and English till well-nigh his end. As that approached, "He gave many excellent Counsels and Exhortations to all about him; his Reason and Memory being not at all impaired. He continued full of Faith and Comfort and Holy Joy to the last."¹⁹

¹⁷ Prince, p. 301.

¹⁸ Banks, II, *Annals of Chilmark*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁹ Prince, p. 301.

Experience Mayhew recalled, when his father (John Mayhew) took him to visit the noble old patriarch in his last sickness, his "great Grandfather's calling him to his Bedside and laying his Hands on his Head and Blessing him in the name of the Lord."²⁰ He appears to have died in his Edgartown house, on March 25, 1682.²¹

Mr. Lloyd Hare quotes a letter written by Matthew to Governor Hinckley of the Plymouth Colony:

It pleased God of His great goodness, to continue my honoured Grandfather's life to a great age, wanting but six days of ninety years, so to give the comfort of his life, in his sickness which was six days, to give him an increase of faith and comfort manifested in many expressions, one of which I may not omitt:

"I have lived by faith and have found God in his son; and there I find him now, therefore if you would finde God looke for him in his son, there he is to be found and no where else &c."

He manifested great assurance of salvation. He was of low price in his own esteem, saying that he had been both unworthy and unprofitable, not deserving the esteem many had of him; and that he was only accepted in and through the Lord Jesus, &c.

Could there be simpler, more definitely moving expression of entire faith, at the end of a well-lived life? Matthew added to the Governor, "I got no great hope that there will ever be his like in this selfish age."²²

On the left side of South Water Street in Edgartown, just off the street line, stand two rude unlettered stones, at the corner of what was the home lot of Thomas Mayhew, Sr. They are said to mark the graves of Thomas Mayhew and his wife. The ancient, weatherstained, shingled house which stood on this lot until it was torn down recently, known for generations as the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

²¹ Banks, I, p. 246.

²² Hare, p. 224.

"old Mayhew House," is where he is said to have lived and died.²³

I cannot resist inserting the following impressive estimate of the life and work of this much to-be-revered ancestor of ours, made by Lloyd C. Hare, author of *Thomas Mayhew, Patriarch to the Indians*:

In the role of missionary or governor he carried with him the dignity of a great soul. Although he slept in Indian wigwams and walked miles through the forests to teach his Indian subjects, he never lost his hold upon their respect and admiration. His dignity was not the pose that comes with patents from royal dukes, appended with the seals of state, and resounding with titles of office. It was the dignity of a soul evoked by its Maker; a soul above the petty distinctions of mankind.

Upon the basis of his life as an Indian missionary, the fame of Thomas Mayhew rests best. The great achievement of his life was not the settlement of islands or founding of towns and villages, or the establishment of a government over planters. In these things he was preeminently successful, but the triumph which endears him to posterity was his administration of Indian affairs, his generous devotion to the whole design of civilizing and christianizing the Indian inhabitants within his domain. In his relation with the red man he achieved a success far beyond that of any other British Governor in North America, unique in that he was the one alone among them to become a missionary among them. He was a man of remarkable character and consequently lived a remarkable career. A Manorial Lord, a British Colonial Governor, he became one of the great missionaries of his day and one of the greatest governors of all ages to govern and pacify a savage race. To the Indian he was father, counselor and ruler; "Sachem," as upon occasion they called him.²⁴

Hare records as well this earlier tribute by James Freeman in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1815.

²³ Banks, I, p. 247.

²⁴ From: THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO THE INDIANS by Lloyd C. M. Hare. Copyright, 1932, Lloyd C. M. Hare. Reprinted by permission of Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc.

"Thomas Mayhew . . . deserves to be ranked with Bradford, Winthrop and the other worthies who established or governed the first English colonies in North America. The little band of adventurers, whom he boldly placed on an island, amidst numerous bodies of savages, have not become a large and flourishing people; and his fame is consequently less; but his toils, his zeal, his courage were equally great. In prudence and benevolence he stands pre-eminent. Whilst on his part he abstained from acts of violence and fraud against the Indians, he gained such an ascendancy over their minds that they on their part never did him or his people the least injury, or joined in any of the wars, which their country-men on the main land waged against the English. He seemed to come among them, not like a robber to dispossess them of their lands, not like a conqueror to reduce them to slavery, but like a father, to impart to them the comforts of civilized life and the blessings of the gospel of peace."²⁵

We may return to Prince for a final word on Thomas Mayhew, Sr.

"Tho the Loss of his only Son in his old Age, was a great and lasting Sorrow; yet by God's lengthening out his life to so uncommon a Term, he had the reviving Consolation, to see a very valuable Son of that Son associated with him in the Indian Service, to their great Acceptance, a few Years before he dy'd: and which doubtless made his Departure much more easy and joyful to him."²⁶

Prince's account continues with:

"THE REVEREND MR. JOHN MAYHEW THE YOUNGEST SON OF MR. THOMAS MAYHEW JUNIOR.

But by the way we may observe, that the Governour's only Son, *Mr. Thomas Mayhew junior*, left three Sons, viz. *Matthew*, *Thomas* and *John*. *Matthew*, the eldest, upon his Grandfather the Governour's Death, became the chief Person, both of the Civil and Military Order on the Island, and died in 1710. *Thomas*, born in 1648, became one of the Justices of the inferiour Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions there, and died in 1715. And this *John*, the youngest, born in the

²⁵ Cited in Hare, op. cit., p. 1. Reprinted here by permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

²⁶ Prince, p. 302.

beginning of 1652, applied himself intirely to the Work of Ministry, wherein he was for some small time contemporary with his aforesaid Grandfather, and succeeding him, continued therein to his Death.

This Gentleman being but five years of Age at the Loss of his Father, thereby unhappily missed the Advantage of a learned Education; for want of which, together with his full Employment at home, and his not being inclined to appear abroad, he very much confined himself to the Island, and was not so extensively known; and hence it is, there has been too little hitherto publickly said of this Gentleman, considering his great Work and Usefulness. But I can assure my Reader that he fell not short, either of the eminent Genius or Piety of his excellent Progenitors.

He was early inclined to the Ministerial Work: and having the Benefit of his Grandfather's wise Instructions, and of his Father's Library; and being a Person of more than ordinary natural Parts, great Industry and sincere Piety, he made such a large Proficiency in the Study and Knowledge of divine Things, that about 1673, when he was but twenty-one Years of Age, he was first called to the Ministry among the English in a new small Settlement; at a Place named Tisbury, near the midst of the Island; where he preached to the great Acceptance, not only of the People under his Care, but of very able Judges that occasionally heard him."

* * * * *

"He lived and dy'd within the Bounds of Chilmark; but constantly preached to the English at Tisbury,²⁷ for the space of fifteen Years to his Death, and about as long once every Week to one or other of the Indian Assemblies on the Island; besides abundance of Pains he took more privately with them."

* * * * *

"And having finished what God in his all wise and perfect Providence saw meet to employ him in, he deceased on February 3, 1688-9, about two in the Morning, in the 37th Year of his Age, and the 16th of his Ministry.

²⁷ The little wooden church in which he preached still stands in a solitary spot in the woods near Tisbury.

He left eight Children; the eldest of which was but sixteen Years of Age, and soon after succeeded him in the Indian Service."

John Mayhew married Elizabeth (born January 22, 1654-55, died 1746), the daughter of Emanuel and Elizabeth Hilliard of Hampton, New Hampshire.²⁸ From him we are descended through:

"THE REVEREND MR. EXPERIENCE MAYHEW, THE ELDEST SON OF MR. JOHN MAYHEW.

This Gentleman was born January 27, 1672-3, in Chilmark. He began to preach to the Indians on the Vineyard in March 1693-4 when he was a little above twenty-one Years of Age, and about five Years after his Father's Decease: and has continued on in the same laborious Employment, having the prudential Care and Oversight of five or six Indian Assemblies; to whose Service he has been wholly devoted and to one or the other of which he has constantly preached for above these thirty-two Years."²⁹

His repute extended beyond the limits of the Island, not only in New, but in Old England. He gained a wide and well-merited fame, not only as a great missionary to the Indians but as a learned theologian.

Prince's account continues:

"Tho this Gentleman also unhappily missed of a learned Education in his younger days; yet by the signal Blessing of God on his diligent Studies and Labours, he grew so conspicuous by the time he was about twenty-five Years of Age, that the *Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather*, first in a Sermon printed at Boston 1698, and then reprinted in *Magnalia* in London 1702, speaking of more than thirty Indian Assemblies, and of more than thirty hundred Christian Indians then in this Province, he adds in the Margin the following Words: 'That an hopeful and worthy young Man, Mr. Experience Mayhew, must now have Justice done him of this Character, That in the Evangelical Service among the Indians, there is no Man that exceeds this Mr. Mayhew, if there be any that equals him.'

²⁸ Banks, III, p. 302.

²⁹ Prince, p. 306.

The Indian Language has been from his Infancy natural to him, and he has been all along accounted one of the greatest Masters of it that has been among us. The Honourable Commissioners therefore employed him to make a new Version of the whole Book of Psalms, and the Gospel of John; which he did in collateral Columns of English and Indian, with a great deal of Accuracy, in 1709."

He was classed next to Eliot as "the most profound scholar in the Algonquin tongue."³⁰

"And such an extraordinary Progress has he made in Knowledge, that for many years since, he was offered the Degree of Master of Arts at Cambridge, though he was pleased to excuse himself from the Honour. However, the College saw Cause at length to overrule his Modesty and to confer it upon him at the publick Commencement on July 3, 1723, to the Approbation of all that know him."

He was said "to have equal ability and discrimination as a reasoner with his son," Jonathan Mayhew.³¹ He was independent in his theological views, which departed to a certain extent from strict Calvinistic standards, and taught his sons to rely for their opinions on their own reading of the inspired writings.³²

Of his own writings a volume of sermons was published in both Boston and England, but his *Indian Converts* is his best known, most important work. His *Grace Defended, a Modest Plea for an Important Truth . . . In Which the Doctrine of Original Sin and Human Impotence &c. and other Important Points are considered and cleared*, printed by B. Green and Company for D. Henchman, Cornhill, 1744, reveals great learning and research, but appears a little too ponderous and metaphysical for this generation of Christians.

³⁰ Banks, I, p. 253.

³¹ Bradford, Alden, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D.*, Boston, 1838, p. 14, n.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

He seems to have lived all his life on the Vineyard at Chilmark, where he was born and where he died on November 29, 1758, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.³³

On November 12, 1695, he married his first wife, Thankful Hinckley (born 1671; died September 27, 1706), the daughter of Governor Thomas Hinckley of Barnstable in the Plymouth Colony and of Mary Smith, his wife. By this marriage there were three children. After her death he married Remember Bourne (born 1683; died March 2, 1721-22), the daughter of Shearjashub and Bathsheba (Skiffe) Bourne of Sandwich. From this second marriage he had five children, the youngest of whom was Jonathan, who after graduation from Harvard, found in Boston a broader field for his talents. The next youngest, Zachariah (born May 17, 1718) succeeded his father as the fifth and last of the Mayhew Missionaries to the Indians, continuing the work until he died March 6, 1806, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.³⁴

Just a final word as to these early Mayhews. Let us consider the station in this mundane sphere, beyond the saintly calling they chose for their main lifework, in which they may be placed. Bradford, in his Life of Jonathan Mayhew, says the family "may justly be said to have been a remarkable one, both on account of their efforts in Christianizing the Indians and for their personal moral worth." Manifestly they were gentle folk, of superior education, endowed with innate culture and refinement which long years amid rude primeval surroundings failed to deteriorate. It may be idle to speculate how Thomas Mayhew, the Wiltshire country lad, acquired the erudition so evident in his correspondence and writings, in his correct and cultivated use of the mother tongue and occasional use of Latin. He was on terms of intimacy with the leading men of the Colony, many of whom had university training and had held real position in England; he was on terms of close friendship with

³³ Banks, III, p. 305.

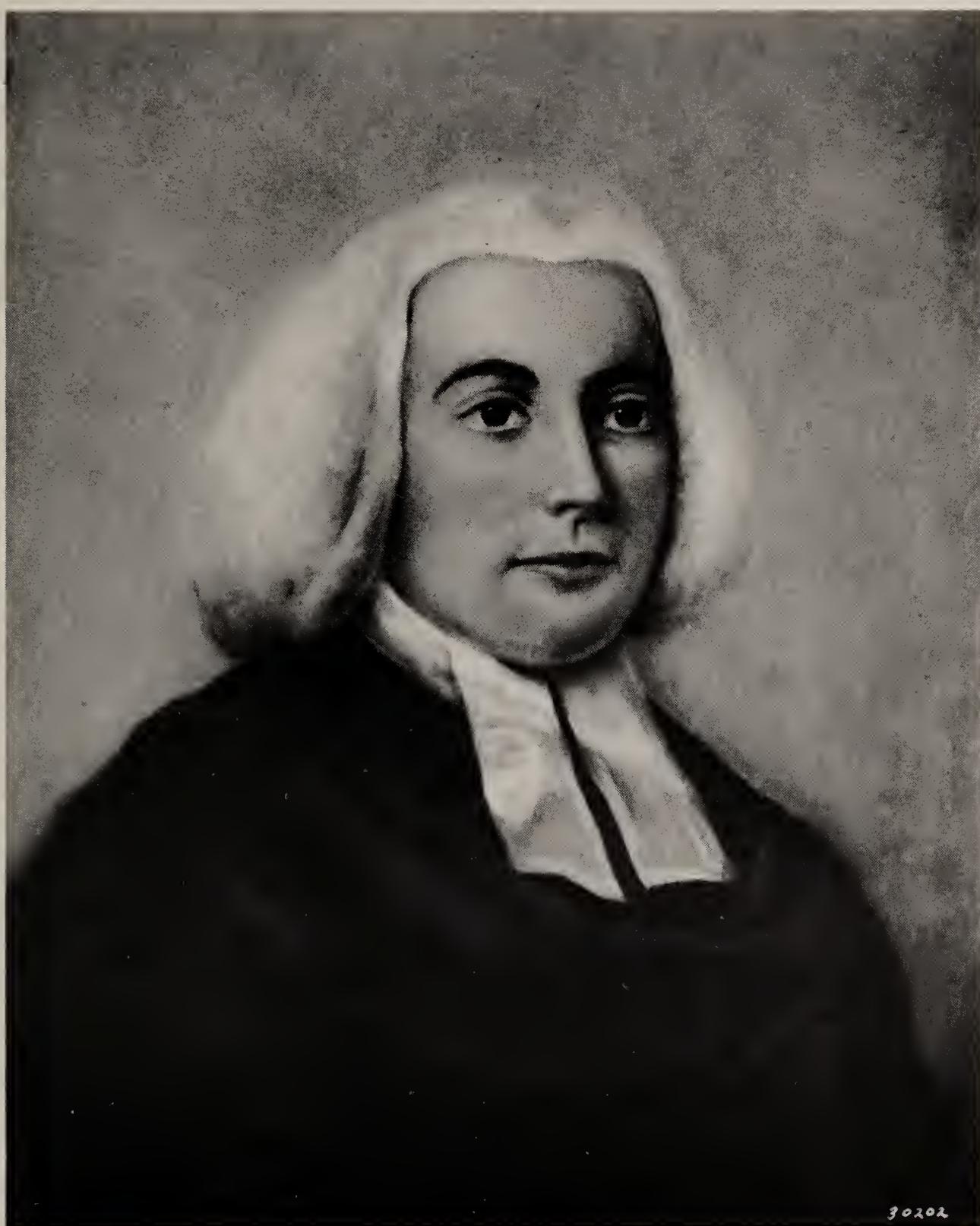
³⁴ Banks, I, p. 256.

the younger Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, whom he addressed in letters as "My Approuved Friend," and "My loveing Friend." In the Gorges as well as one of the Sterling deeds, he is described as "Gent." or gentleman, a designation not idly applied in that day. That he regarded himself as such there can be no doubt, else he would not have worn the ring cut with heraldic arms with which he sealed his will and other documents. Also pertinent is the importance he attributed to higher education, evidenced by insistence that his son, Thomas, Jr., should have the best education possible in the Colony, so as to become known as New England's "Young Scholar." That son certainly gave evidence of culture and nobility of nature, as did also that son's son, John, with the benefit of "his Grand-father's wise Instructions and his Father's Library"; as did likewise Experience Mayhew, the latter's son.

The manorial grant may not have raised Thomas, Sr., technically to noble rank, but he may be counted truly as one of nature's noblemen. Indeed, may it not be said of all those godly Mayhews that they were aristocrats in the true, the literal sense of the term, of the best and purest types of the great Puritan English stock that settled New England, endowed as they were with serene courage, piety and strength of purpose, and above all with sublime faith in their God and His Divine Son, in whose steps they humbly sought to tread?

And now let us turn to our more immediate ancestor, that "brilliant offspring of Experience," JONATHAN MAYHEW. He was born October 8, 1720, also in Chilmark³⁵ — doubtless in the house built by his grandfather John, where also his own father was born. No details of his early life on the Vineyard have come to us. We know he entered Harvard in 1740, graduating with honors in the class of 1744. How he prepared for college, whether on the Vineyard or in Boston, is not known, nor likewise how he was supported while at college, though it is said that this father sold some land for the purpose.

³⁵ Banks, II, *Annals of Chilmark*, p. 26.



JONATHAN MAYHEW, D.D. (1720-1766)
Pastor of West Church, Boston
"Assertor of Civil and Religious Liberties"

While an undergraduate he was distinguished among his fellow students as a classical student of ripe scholarship for one of his years, and for the ease and elegance with which he wrote Latin and for his skill in dialectics. Some of his essays in prose and verse at that time were thought to be from the pen of an older man.⁴⁰ He appears to have committed himself to the ministry while in college. How he spent the three years from graduation to ordination is again not known, though letters to his father suggest residence in the college and prosecution of his studies there. From his father he derived views in theology quite unorthodox according to the strict Calvinistic tenets of the New England clergy of that day. "The independence of the father in his theological views and his departure, in some measure, from the Calvinistic standard, was the occasion for the son's superiority to all human creeds, however venerable from antiquity or from the great number of advocates . . . (Experience's sons were taught) to read the book of revelation; and when somewhat advanced to manhood, enjoined to form their opinion from the inspired writings, instead of blindly conforming to any theological system adopted by fallible men."⁴¹ Jonathan thus early, from his own independent judgment and his ardent search for truth in the inspired writings of the apostles and early fathers, developed views contrary to those generally prevailing. These he did not hesitate boldly to express. Indeed, he had already come to be considered so unorthodox or heretical that few of the Boston Congregational clergy were willing to attend the so-called council for his ordination. He was ordained to the "Pastoral Care of the West Church in Boston," on June 17, 1747; the sermon was preached by the Reverend Mr. Ebenezer Gay, M.A., of Hingham; the charge, given by his venerable father, the Reverend Mr. Experience Mayhew, M.A., of Martha's Vineyard. The Right Hand of Fellowship was extended by the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Prescot of Salem. The charge concluded with this solemn injunction:

⁴⁰ Bradford, p. 20.

⁴¹ Bradford, p. 15.

"And now, Jonathan, my son, know thou the God of thy Father, and serve him with a perfect Heart and with a willing Mind, for the Lord Knoweth all Hearts and understandeth the Imagination of the Thoughts. If you seek him he will be found of you; but if you forsake him, he will forsake you and cast you out forever."⁴² (I Chronicles, 28:9)

Religion was taken pretty seriously in those days. Bradford, his biographer, writes:

"Even then (at the time of his ordination) he had the reputation of an able logician and theologian, as well as a good general and classical scholar. But for nearly twenty years after the term of his public clerical life, his fame as an eloquent preacher, a powerful writer and an ardent advocate of civil and religious liberty was constantly extending."⁴³

"Instead of resting on ancient creeds or human authority for what he advanced and urged, he referred to the Bible, and endeavored to convince the reason as well as to affect the hearts of those he addressed . . . He was pre-eminently the pioneer of liberal religious thought in New England and the founder of that division of the old Puritan Church now classed as Unitarian and Universalist, and which found early expression in the pulpit of the West Church through him and his successors."⁴⁴

To this Banks adds:

"He was the first clergyman in New England to openly and definitely oppose the scholastic dogma of the Trinity as well as to deny the 'five points' of Calvinism. This not only took great moral courage but it required great forensic ability and disputative knowledge to maintain his position as he had pitted against him the brightest intellects of that period which has been called the golden era of ministerial influence in New England."⁴⁵

After his ordination he preached constantly, with dignity and force, deeply impressing his hearers and securing a wide influ-

⁴² From a time-stained pamphlet in my possession, containing the order of service and addresses.

⁴³ Bradford, p. 25.

⁴⁴ Bradford, p. 29.

⁴⁵ Banks III, p. 311, n.

ence not only in Boston but in a much broader sphere. Seven of his sermons on right and wrong in morals and on private judgment in religious matters made a profound impression, receiving much approbation here and abroad.⁴⁶ In 1749 they were published here and in 1750, in England. Principally because of those on the right of private judgment and on religious freedom, in February 1750 when he was barely thirty years of age, the University of Aberdeen conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.⁴⁷ For this he had been recommended by Shirley, Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and certified by distinguished Doctors of Divinity on the other side.⁴⁸

He taught, says Bradford, the doctrines of Jesus the Messiah in what he conceived to be their simplicity and purity without "scholastic subtleties or the dogmas of fallible men."⁴⁹ He rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, referring to Jesus as "the Son of God," under God, as the original source of all goodness and mercy. Charged with depreciating the merits of Christ, he replied, "My views are misrepresented. I believe in Him as my inspired teacher and Savior; my soul loves and adores Him."⁵⁰ He advocated complete religious liberty and the right to resolve religious questions according to the dictates of judgment and conscience. In his own words:

"We have a right to judge and act for ourselves. It is a solemn duty to do it. We cannot relinquish the right or neglect to use it, without being highly culpable. We may dispose of our temporal substance, if we please; but God, and reason and the gospel of Christ enjoin it upon us, as a duty, to maintain

⁴⁶ Bradford, p. 32.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 450.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

the right of private judgment and to worship God according to our consciences.”⁵¹

“The love of God is a steady, solemn, calm and rational thing, the result of thought and consideration.”⁵²

In his day, questions of liberty in religion naturally and inevitably led into the field of civil liberty. Although he was an indefatigable and faithful preacher of religion, his active brain and intense interest in and love for his country, where his ancestors had been so long established, led him beyond the sphere of religion into the arena of politics and government. Indeed, on his activity in that field his fame principally rests. In his discussion of political issues he displayed “a statesmanlike largeness of view, a dignity and strength of thought, a magnificence of expression, which make his discourses noble and inspiring.”⁵³ Anticipating criticism that he was preaching “‘politics instead of Christ,’ ” he “begged it might be remembered that all scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction and for instruction in righteousness,” stating that “‘the parts of scripture which relate to civil government and rulers are to be explained from the pulpit as well as others.’ ”⁵⁴

His most notable sermon in the civil field was on the observance by the Church of England on the anniversary of the death of Charles I as a day for fasting and prayer. It was published in 1751 under the title *A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers, with some reflections on the Resistance made to King Charles I and on the Anniversary of his Death, in which the Mysterious Doctrine of that Prince's Saintship and Martyrdom is unriddled, the substance*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵³ Tyler, Moses Coit, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, New York, 1897, Vol. I, p. 133.

⁵⁴ Bradford, p. 103.

of which was delivered in a sermon preached in the West Meeting House, in Boston, on the 30th day of January, 1749-1750.

Already the encroachments of the Crown and Parliament had aroused burning indignation in the Colonies, with forecasts even of separation, and Mayhew had already begun a fiery and eloquent espousal of the Cause of Liberty. Years later this sermon was described as "the first peal on the trumpet of freedom in this western land, blown clear and loud enough to be heard over land and water far and wide."⁵⁵ John Adams called it "'the opening gun of the Revolution.'"⁵⁶ It was warmly received in England, not only by Dissenters but by the considerable element of sympathizers with the cause of the Colonies.

Mayhew thanked God that one might speak freely "'if a decent regard be paid to those in authority both in religion and government, and even give some *broad* hints that he is engaged on the side of liberty, the Bible and *common sense* in opposition to priestcraft and *nonsense* without being in danger of the bastile or the inquisition.'"⁵⁷ He reviewed the arbitrary, tyrannical and oppressive rule of the ill-fated monarch, his attempt to rule absolutely, his violation of the oath he had taken at his coronation to rule under the constitution of the realm. Mayhew justified resistance in such a case as not rebellion but "'a most righteous and glorious stand made in defense of the natural and legal right of the people.'" He was particularly severe on the "'hereditary indefensible divine right of Kings,'" which, along with the doctrine of non-resistance, he declared to be "'as *fabulous* and *chimerical* as *transubstantiation*, or any of the most absurd reveries of ancient and modern visionaries. . . . We may safely assert two things: one is that no civil rulers are to be obeyed when they enjoin things inconsistent with the words and commands of God — all disobedience in such case is lawful and glorious. . . .

55 Tyler, op. cit., I, p. 122.

56 Forbes, Esther, *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In*. Boston, 1942, p. 33.

57 Bradford, p. 104.

Another thing may be asserted with equal truth and safety, that no government is to be submitted to at the expense of that which is the sole end of government, the common good and welfare of society.’’⁵⁸

Bancroft wrote of Mayhew in his *History of the United States*:

In January 1750, the still youthful Mayhew, alarmed at the menaced encroachments of power, summoned every lover of truth and of mankind to bear a part in the defensive work against “tyranny and priestcraft.” . . . He reproved the impious bargain “between the sceptre and the surplice;” he preached resistance to “the first small beginning of civil tyranny, lest it should swell to a torrent and deluge empires . . . If those who bear the title of civil rulers do not perform the duty of civil rulers, if they injure and oppress, they have not the least pretense to be honoured or obeyed. If the common safety and utility would not be promoted by submission to the government, there is no motive for submission;” disobedience becomes “lawful and glorious . . . not a crime but a duty.”

In another sermon on the occasion of the General Election in 1754, preached before the Governor and members of the Council and of the House of Representatives, Mayhew advanced with equal candor and boldness his views in defense of republican government founded on the will, and by the authority, of the people. For a true insight into his political philosophy it becomes necessary to quote liberally from that sermon also:

“Having been initiated in my youth in the doctrine of civil liberty, as explained and inculcated by Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero and other numerous persons among the ancients, and such as Sidney, Milton, Locke and Hoadley among the moderns, they appeared rational and just; and having also learned from the holy scriptures that wise and brave virtuous men were always the friends of liberty; *that God gave the Israelites a King, in anger, because they had not the sense and virtue enough to like a free commonwealth*, and that where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, I was thus led to conclude that freedom is a great blessing . . . that the institution of civil government for the benefit of mankind was agreeable to the will and by the providence of God, but in the form such as men may prefer

⁵⁸Bradford, pp. 111-113.

and ordain, and that the end proposed by all just government is the improvement and welfare of society.”⁵⁹

Mayhew had now risen to the front rank of the New England clergy in “that period which has been called the golden era of ministerial influence in New England.”

In 1755 a published volume of his sermons *On hearing the word and receiving it with meekness* made as deep an impression as those previously published on private judgment and right and wrong in morals. He boldly reiterated opposition to Calvin and Athanasius, “building his faith ‘not on man, or men’ but ‘on the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone.’”⁶⁰

No important incident or happening from which could be drawn a moral or lesson religious, political or otherwise, escaped his eager comment. The following is a list of his other published sermons:

- 1754: on the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales.
- 1755: two on the occasion of earthquakes in New England.
- 1758: two on the success of his Majesty’s arms and those of the King of Prussia.
- 1759: two on the success of his Majesty’s arms on the reduction of Quebec.
- 1760: two on the Great Fire in Boston.
- 1761: one on the death of George II and happy accession of George III; two, on striving to enter at the strait gate; two, on the Nature, Extent, and Perfection of Divine Grace.
- 1763: two, on the Nature, Extent and Perfection of Divine Grace; eight, to young men on Christian sobriety; Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England; Answer to a criticism of the last made in a so-called Anonymous Tract by Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury; Letter of Reproof to Reverend John Cleveland, a scathing reply to a personal attack.

⁵⁹ Bradford, pp. 120-121.

⁶⁰ Bradford, p. 131 n.

1765: Dumbleian Lecture at Harvard on Popish Idolatry.

1766: The Snare Broken, a Thanksgiving Discourse on the Repeal of the Stamp Act, his last and great sermon delivered in the West Church, of which more later.

In 1756 Jonathan Mayhew married Elizabeth Clark, daughter of Dr. John Clark and Elizabeth Braeme Clark of Boston. The father was a prominent physician, of a well-known family, who lived in a famous mansion at the north end of Boston, known as the Mayo-Clark house. Elizabeth has been described as "not only beautiful in person, but possessed of a character as attractive, with all the desirable and womanly attributes, and as the wife of the most popular clergyman of his time, she rivalled him in the admiration of his parishioners and other friends." The portraits of both, by Copley (then owned by the Doctor's grandson, Peter Wainwright, the Bishop's brother), were unfortunately destroyed in the great Boston fire of 1872. Dr. Mayhew's was a crayon or pastel in color with blue background, of half size, dressed in robes, with a white wig; a duplicate or contemporaneous or very early copy is in my possession. His wife's portrait is three-fourths length, with a white satin dress with a blue mantle and hat, in her right hand a rosebud, in her left a basket of flowers, in the distance a landscape.⁶¹ The clear-cut classic features of the Doctor in the well-known engraving by the Italian artist, Cipriani, were taken from the Copley portrait.

And now, in lighter vein, revealing the gentle humor, quaint grace and tender sentiment of which the learned reverend Doctor was capable, is the following letter to his prospective brother-in-law:

⁶¹ Perkins, Augustus Thorndike, *Sketch of the Life and Some of the Works of John Singleton Copley*, privately printed, Boston, 1873.

March 10, 1756

Dear Sir,—One Mr. Jo. Bill, has promised, by his curious art of cookery, to turn a calf's-head and pluck into a good sea-turtle for us to-day. I do not suppose that you have any particular love of such sort of food, and hope I have not myself. However, this metamorphosed calf's-head may possibly be a curiosity to you; and if you will come and partake of it with me, you will have the pleasure of Mr. Quincy's⁶² company, who may at present, perhaps find no inconvenience from such a diet.

Yours most affectionately,

J. Mayhew

P.S. I was going to request you to present my compliments to Miss Betsy; but I do not like the formality of that word. I desire you would, in plain old English, give my hearty love to her; but do not, for the world, let her know a syllable of what I have written about turtle food. For you know ministers ought, in all propriety and prudence, to be very grave, not to say stupid; and for them to jest, in any way, about such things, is almost as bad as *heresy*.⁶³

(Some kind friends had been trying to part him from his lady love for the reason of heresy.)

And this to Miss Betsy herself:

Boston, June 10, 1756

Dear Betsy,—This is one of the most unnecessary, impertinent letters that you ever received; the chief design of it being to tell you what you know so well already, that I can never forget you: and that no distance of place can lessen my love and regards to you. I intend, with submission to providence, to see you at Waltham, on Saturday next, or at the farthest on Monday. . . . Believe me, charming creature, I most ardently long to see you; but, in the meantime, must content myself with giving you this epistolary testimony of my regards; the best, indeed, it is in my power to give at present.

⁶² "Edmund Quincy, his intimate friend," Bradford, p. 170.

⁶³ Bradford, p. 170.

Heaven first taught letters for some wretch's aid,
Some banish'd love, or some captive maid;
They live, they speak, they breathe what love inspires
Warm from the soul, and faithful to its fires: —
Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,
And waft a sigh from India to the pole.

. . . I need not multiply words, or rather, it would be to no purpose to do it; because words, however multiplied, cannot express how much, and how sincerely, I am yours.

J. Mayhew

And this to his prospective father-in-law:

Dear Sir, — I propose to give Mrs. Adams notice this morning, that I shall wait upon her, with you, in the afternoon, to drink tea, &c. — and shall accordingly expect you to call me after dinner. Please to tell Miss Betsy how tenderly I love her, and how I long for the day when I can call her mine.

Yours affectionately,

Thursday A.M.

J. Mayhew

Mayhew was bitterly opposed to the proposal of imposing bishops of the Church of England upon the Colonies, and particularly wrathful at what he deemed the insidious attempt of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under guise of sending missionaries to the Indians, to put clergymen of the Church of England into communities already supplied with ministers, where they were not needed. He claimed that this proposal was part of a design ultimately to confer on the Established Church of the Mother Country official status in the Colonies, with bishops to be appointed for each colony and supported by colonial taxation. It had, indeed, already been asserted that the Church of England was as much legally "established" here as in England and that other forms of Christianity were merely tolerated, notwithstanding that the royal charters, "especially that of Massachusetts, gave entire authority to the colonial government in all religious concerns"; accordingly, the congregational clergy claimed that "it would be absurd, as well as unjust, for any power in Great Britain, whether civil or ecclesiastical, to attempt to control or direct in the subject of religion."⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Bradford, p. 287.

At this time, 1763, when Dr. Mayhew delivered his famous *Observation on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, a general apprehension had arisen that the British Ministry was contemplating an even more arbitrary and drastic control over the Colonies. It was feared, in view of the close connection between Church and State in England, that the proposal then advocated by certain prelates in England that bishops be appointed for and supported by the Colonies was more than likely to be carried out.

In this situation the temper and line pursued by the Doctor, as well as his vigorous style, may well be gathered from the following extract from his *Observations* sermon:

"When we consider the real constitution of the Church of England and how alien her worship is from the simplicity of the gospel and the apostolic times; when we consider her enormous hierarchy, ascending from the dirt to the skies; when we consider the visible effects of that church prevailing among us; when we reflect on what our forefathers suffered from the mitred lordly successors to the fishermen of Galilee, for non-conformity to a non-instituted mode of worship which occasioned their flight to this western world; when we consider that, to be delivered from their unholy zeal and oppressions, countenanced by sceptered tyrants, they threw themselves into the arms of savages, as it were; when we reflect that one principal motive to their exchanging the fair cities and villages of Great Britain for the inhospitable deserts of America, was that they might here enjoy, unmolested, God's holy word and ordinances, without such heterogeneous and spurious mixture as were offensive to their well-informed consciences; when we consider the narrow, censorious and bitter spirit that now prevails in many of the episcopalians among us, and what would probably be the sad consequence if that party should once get the ascendency here, and a major vote in our house of assembly—in which case the Church of England might become the established religion here, *tests* to be ordained, as in England, to exclude all but conformists from posts of honor and emolument, and all of us to be taxed for the support of bishops and their underlings: when we consider these things, and too many others to be now enumerated, we cannot well think of that church's gaining

ground here to any great extent, and especially of seeing bishops fixed among us, without much concern. Will they never let us rest in peace, except 'where all the weary are at rest'? Is it not enough that they have persecuted us out of the old world? Will they pursue us into the new, to convert or persecute us here; compassing sea and land, to make us proselytes, while they neglect the heathen and heathenish plantations? What other new world remains as an asylum for us from their oppression? Where is the Columbus to explore one for us, and pilot us to it, before we are consumed by the flames, or deluged in a flood of episcopacy?"⁶⁵

To Mayhew's statements an unsigned answer appeared in England, which Mayhew characterized as "The Anonymous Tract." This answer, mild and reproachful, admitted many of the Doctor's strictures, granted that many mistakes had been made, but asserted that it was not the intention of the English Church to establish churches where ministers were already settled except in places where a sufficient number of Church of England people justified such a course. The author admitted that it was desirable to establish bishops, except in the provinces of the Puritans, but denied that it was intended that Parliament impose a tax for the bishops' support. He maintained that the Church of England was "Scriptural and proper"; its rites and forms, "decent and useful"; the clergy "favorable to the discipline and government of the church and the religious improvement of the people."⁶⁶

Mayhew, unaware that the author of this anonymous answer was none other than the Archbishop of Canterbury, framed a reply in more courteous and conciliatory terms, acknowledging the candor and Christian Catholicism of the writer, but insisting that no other means of supporting bishops would be found than colonial taxation.

John Adams attributed great importance to Mayhew's opposition to the establishment of bishops, saying:

⁶⁵ Bradford, pp. 257-258.

⁶⁶ Bradford, p. 335.

"If anyone supposes this controversy to have no influence on the great subsequent question, he is grossly ignorant. It spread (the plan of episcopizing the colonies, especially New England,) an universal alarm against the authority of parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension, that bishops and diocese and churches and priests and tythes, were to be imposed on us by parliament. It was known that neither the king, nor the ministry, nor archbishops, could appoint bishops in America, *without an act of parliament*; and if parliament could tax us, they could establish the church of England here, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies and tythes, and prohibit all other churches, as conventicles and schism-shops. How then can it ever be said, the writings of Mayhew, against introducing and establishing episcopacy, were not important in support of the cause of civil and religious liberty, and against the claims of arbitrary power in the British parliament?"⁶⁷

Shortly before this time Bernard, the arbitrary royal Governor, superciliously had remarked to Mayhew, "You adore the Oliverian times," to which Mayhew replied in a letter, "I adore Him who is before all times," and avowed his zeal for the principles of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, especially for those of freedom of speech and writing.⁶⁸

But now came another cause for resentment, vitally bearing on the liberties of America: The Stamp Act was passed by the British Parliament, requiring that all documents executed in the Colonies must be stamped with an official stamp, with payment of fee. The colonists, particularly in Massachusetts, claimed that this fee would be in effect a tax and, being imposed without their consent, would involve an infringement of their ancient rights and liberties. The home government denied that this method of raising revenue involved taxation. But the principle, rather than the stamp itself, raised the ire, indeed, the fury of the people. They protested that if a tax, as they claimed this fee to be, could be imposed without their consent, there was no limit to the taxation to which they might be subjected. They declared

⁶⁷ Bradford, p. 276.

⁶⁸ Bradford, p. 222.

that they were still Englishmen, as much so as their kinsmen in the mother land, asserting that their forefathers had surrendered none of their constitutional rights as Englishmen by coming out of England to England's America.

Here was the prelude to that great struggle arising out of violation of a principle which had already cost an English King his head, and was to cost England the loss of an empire.

Mayhew wrote to his friend Hollis⁶⁹ in England on August 19, 1765, referring to the Boston riot of August 14th, after the stamps had arrived.

"... The stamp act is as much disliked by the people generally, through all the colonies, as in this. So great is the detestation in which it is had, that I am convinced it will never be carried into execution, unless at the point of the sword, by a large, or rather by a number of armies, and one in each colony; there being about 60,000 fighting men in this province only: and it is given out by many, that they will spend their last drop of blood in this cause."⁷⁰

Mayhew had previously preached a strong sermon with text from Galatians V, 12-13: "I would they were even cut off which trouble you. For, bretheren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty as an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another." Notwithstanding the fact that he had advised against violence, his enemies accused him of being responsible for the fierce rioting that ensued, in which the Governor's house was attacked. It was even given out, on the misrepresentation that he had advocated open and forcible opposition, that he was to be summoned to England "to answer for disorganizing and disloyal conduct."⁷¹ The Royal Governor, however, absolved him

⁶⁹ In my possession is a beautifully bound copy of Locke's *Essay on Toleration* presented to Dr. Mayhew by his great friend and correspondent, whom he never saw, Thomas Hollis, a distinguished publicist and prominent figure in the element in England who strongly espoused the cause of the Colonies. The book is inscribed: "To Jonathan Mayhew, Asserter of Liberty, an Englishman."

⁷⁰ Bradford, p. 418.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

completely of any such charge. His friend Hollis in England wrote that he had heard that Mayhew was expected soon in England, but could hardly rejoice on the occasion of Mayhew's coming.

In March, 1766, Parliament repealed the odious Stamp Act. Thereupon, on May 23rd, less than two months before he died and for the last time in West Church, Mayhew preached a notable sermon, expressing the joy of the people and himself at the happy event. His text was taken from Psalm 124, 7-8: "Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken and we are escaped. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made Heaven and earth." The sermon was later published under the title, *The Snare Broken, a Thanksgiving Discourse, preached at the Desire of the West Church in Boston, N.E., Friday, May 23, 1766, occasioned by the repeal of the Stamp Act*; it was dedicated to "The Right Honorable William Pitt, Esq., one of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, and an illustrious Patron of America," Pitt being the great liberal British statesman responsible for the repeal of the Act. Mayhew's eulogy of the Prime Minister bears quoting in part for an example of the lofty style of which he was capable:

"At the late most important crisis, you, Sir, whom no reward could ever tempt, no frown of the great ever dismay, no dangers disconcert; and to whom, so good and great in yourself, no titles, however high, could possibly add any new dignity or lustre,⁷² you, Great Sir, were not 'ashamed of our chain,' or reluctant at standing forth to plead the cause of poor America; and so stem the mighty torrent that was against her, which threatened to end in a deluge of blood! . . . God made some men strong on purpose to 'bear the infirmities of the weak' that they might be able to resist and support them in their dangers and extremities; as you, Sir, have ever done since you adorned the British Senate (*sic*); and particularly in the late ever memorable instance. To you, Great Sir, under God and the King, grateful America chiefly attributes it that she is now happily reinstated in the enjoyment of her former liberties and privileges."

⁷² Pitt later became the Earl of Chatham.

Referring to the right of the colonists as free-born British subjects not to be taxed without their consent, Mayhew said:

"I shall take it for granted that, as we were born free, and were never made slaves by right of conquest in war, (if there be any such *right*,) nor sold as slaves in any open, lawful market, for money, so we have a natural right to *our own*, till we have freely consented to part with it, either in person, or by those we have chosen to represent us and act for us. And it will also be taken for granted, that this natural right is declared, affirmed, and secured by *magna charta* (sic); all acts contrary to which are said to be *ipso facto* null and void; and that this natural constitutional right has been further confirmed to most of the plantations by subsequent royal charters, taken in their obvious sense; the legality and authority of which charters was never once denied by either house of parliament; but implicitly at least acknowledged ever since they were respectively granted, till very lately . . . The King and parliament have been now wise and just enough to heed the complaints of the colonists, recognizing that 'the continuance of said act would be attended with many inconveniences and might be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interests of those Kingdoms.' . . . Thus, our soul is escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken and we are escaped; tho' not without much struggling in the snare before it gave way and set us at liberty again."

He exhorted friends and bretheren to "a respectful, loyal and dutiful manner of speech and conduct respecting his Majesty and his government; thereby making a suitable return to him for the redress of our grievances" — an indication of that existing attachment and loyalty to the King and government which, notwithstanding the burning resentment at injustices soon to follow, continued even after the break in 1775 up to the Declaration of Independence in 1776. To quote him:

"I am, indeed, well apprized of the firm attachment of these colonies in general, and of our own province in particular, to the King's person, and to the protestant succession in his illustrious House; for the preservation of which there is hardly a native of New England who would not, upon constitutional principles, which are those of liberty, cheerfully hazard his life or even more lives than one, if he had them to lay down in so good a cause . . .

These colonies are better than ever apprised of their own weight and consequence, when united in a legal opposition to any unconstitutional, hard and grievous treatment, which may be a disadvantage to them . . . And thus, not improbably, may come good out of our late troubles, as well as out of those oppressions which occasioned the flight of our forefathers into the deserts of America. The great shock which was lately given to our liberties may end in the confirmation and enlargement of them . . . To me it really seems most prudent, most charitable, to bury in oblivion what is past, to begin our civil political life anew, as it were, from this glorious era of restored and confirmed liberty."

Alas, how mistaken was the assumption that the repeal of the Stamp Act marked the end of oppression and grievance! Little did Mayhew conceive the subsequent oppressions which less than eight years later resulted in Lexington and Concord and eight further years of bloody, fratricidal revolution, ending in separation and final independence.

The intimate of both the Adamses, of James Bowdoin, James Otis, John Hancock, Robert Treat Paine, and other prominent forerunners of the Revolution, Jonathan Mayhew made to Otis a suggestion which is credited with being the first definite suggestion of a union of the colonies, later realized in the Continental Congress. To Otis he wrote, on "Lord's-day Morning, June 8, 1766":

"Cultivating a good understanding and hearty friendship between these colonies, appears to me so necessary a part of prudence and good policy, that no favorable opportunity for that purpose should be omitted. I think such an one now presents.

Would it not be proper and decorous for our assembly to send circulars to all the rest, on the late repeal of the stamp act, and the present favorable aspect of affairs? . . . A good foundation for this measure has already been laid by the late congress in New-York; which, in my poor opinion, was a wise measure, and contributed not a little towards our obtaining a redress of grievances.⁷³ Pursuing this course, or never losing sight of it, may be of the greatest importance to the colonies, perhaps the only means of perpetuating their liberties.

⁷³ Committees from six colonies had been appointed to discuss recent taxation levied from England.

It is not safe for the colonies to sleep; for it is probable they will always have some wakeful enemies in Great Britain. But if they should be such children as to do so, I hope there are some too much of men, and too great friends to them as well as to liberty, to rock the cradle, or to sing a lullaby to them.

You have heard of the communion of churches; and I am to set out tomorrow from Rutland, to assist at an ecclesiastical council. Not expecting to return this week, while I was thinking of this in my bed, the great use and importance of a communion of colonies appeared to me in a strong light; which led me immediately to set down these hints to transmit to you. Not knowing but the general court may be prorogued or *dissolved* before my return, or my having an opportunity to speak with you, I now give them, that you may make such use of them as you think proper, or none at all.”⁷⁴

Not till later, however, did the general Court of Massachusetts take definite action in this regard. In March 1773, the Virginia Assembly “unanimously voted to establish a system of intercolonial committees of correspondence.” In a memorable address at Williamsburg, Virginia, on May 15th, 1926, at the celebration of the tercentenary of William and Mary College, Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States, alluded to Mayhew’s proposal to Otis as the original suggestion for concerted action: “As great an authority as John Fiske calls this (the Virginia Resolution) the most decided step towards revolution that had yet been taken by the Americans. This original suggestion appears to have come from the eminent divine, Jonathan Mayhew, who suggested to James Otis that the communion of the churches furnished an excellent example for a Communion of the Colonies. . . . As the devout Mayhew had seen the communion of the colonies in the communion of the churches, so these (Virginia) resolutions, even though unconsciously, recognized a communion of nations, when they authorized the forming of foreign alliances.”

Had Mayhew lived, he would undoubtedly have shared in full measure the fame of those great contemporaries who with him kindled the fire which later burst into full flame at Lex-

⁷⁴ Bradford, pp. 428-429.

ington and Concord, and finally brought liberty, independence and the founding of this great free nation.

Fatigued and exhausted and ill, Jonathan Mayhew returned to Boston after a long horseback ride to and from Rutland, Vermont, in inclement weather. In fact, he developed a mortal illness, from which he expired on July 9th, 1766. The inscription on the well-known Cipriani engraving is as follows:

"Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., Pastor of the West Church in Boston, in New England, an Assertor of the Civil and Religious Liberties of his Country and Mankind, who overplied by Public Energies died of a nervous fever July MDCCCLXVI, Aged XXXXV."⁷⁵

The place of burial has not been ascertained, but according to Edward Quincy, Jr., "His funeral was attended by the most numerous procession ever known in Boston."

He was universally mourned and much eulogized. In one of the Boston newspapers appeared the following obituary notice from the pen of Harrison Grey:

"On Wednesday, the ninth instant, died, universally lamented, that learned, faithful, and laborious servant of Christ, the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and in the twentieth year of his ministry. We have abundant reason to believe that the grace of God took possession of his heart in early life. . . . He was allowed by all to be a gentleman of superior natural abilities; to which was added an uncommon stock of acquired learning, which he amassed with unwearyed pains and diligence; esteemed by all men of sense who knew him, or who were acquainted with his writings, to be as brilliant a genius as ever this country produced. He has left but few equals, and not one superior behind. . . . He was an able and sound divine, making the holy scriptures his only rule of faith and practice, and despising the shackles of creeds and professions."⁷⁶

In another Boston paper came this anonymous tribute:

"Ah, Mayhew! Art thou then *forever* gone?
No—I oft have seen the bright descending sun

⁷⁵ Bradford, p. 436, n.

⁷⁶ Bradford, p. 432.

Leave the blue arch, and threaten endless night;
Yet rise again, and bless the world with light!
Thus in thy works shalt thou, for aye revolving, shine,
And prove the hand which formed them was divine;
Till that great day, when night shall be no more,
And tyrants cease to persecute the poor;
Where none shall dread the bigot's cruel rod,
But ev'ry upright heart rejoice in God.”⁷⁷

The following is quoted from a remarkable so-called *Eclogue*, attributed to Joseph Green, born 1706:

“Mayhew the great is dead. His eyes are closed
From mortal things! His soul has soared aloft
On wings celestial to the realms of bliss,
And leaves a world to mourn a general loss.”

His beautiful young widow, at the time of his husband's death, was described as “‘a fine, accomplished lady, admired, and almost adored, by the whole society. Her loss is very great, for there never was a more happy connexion on earth.’”⁷⁸ She married eight years later the Reverend Simeon Howard, Mayhew's successor in the West Church, and died in April 1777. Two children, daughters, survived Mayhew. The youngest died in infancy; the other, Elizabeth, born in 1759, married Peter Wainwright and was Bishop Wainwright's (my grandfather's) mother. She died in Liverpool, England, in 1829.

The following should serve to indicate the place Jonathan Mayhew should occupy in our history:

Bancroft, the historian, wrote in his *History of the United States*, III, p. 220, “Whoever repeats the story of American liberty renews his praise.”

Robert Treat Paine, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, called him “the Father of civil and religious liberty in Massachusetts and America.”

John Adams placed Mayhew among the most conspicuous in the early days of the dispute with England.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Bradford, p. 447.

⁷⁸ Bradford, p. 438.

⁷⁹ Bradford, p. 119, n.

Bradford quotes the following passage from a letter of Adams:

"Dr. Mayhew had already raised a high reputation, both in Europe and America, by the publication of a volume of seven sermons, in 1749, and many other writings; especially a discourse on 30th January, 1750, on the subject of passive obedience and non-resistance — in which the saintship of King Charles I. is considered, seasoned with wit and satire, superior even to Swift or Franklin. It was read by everybody — celebrated by friends, and abused by enemies. During the reigns of George I. and II., the principles of the Stuarts were in general disgrace in England (though since they have found more advocates). In America, they have always been held in abhorrence. The persecutions suffered by their ancestors, under the Stuarts, had been fully transmitted by tradition and history; and Dr. Mayhew seemed to be raised up to revive all the animosity of the people against tyranny, both in church and state, and, at the same time, to destroy their bigotry, fanaticism, and inconsistency. Hume's plausible, elegant, fascinating, and fallacious apology, in which he varnished over the crimes of the Stuarts, had not then appeared. To draw the character of Mayhew, would be to transcribe a dozen volumes. This transcendent genius threw all the weight of his great fame into the scale of his country, in 1761, and maintained it there till his death, in 1766. After mature investigation, every one must be convinced, that Patrick Henry did not give the *first* impulse to the ball of independence, as Mr. Wirt says; but that Otis, Thacher, Samuel Adams, Hancock, Mayhew, and others, had been laboring, for several years at the wheel, before the name of Henry had been heard beyond the limits of Virginia. I envy none of the well-merited glories of Virginia; but I am jealous, very jealous, of the honor of Massachusetts."

Trevelyan, the English historian, in referring to the antipathy of New England to the Established Church of England, speaks thus of Jonathan Mayhew:

"Their spokesman and fugleman in ecclesiastical polemics had till very lately been Jonathan Mayhew, Minister of the West Church in Boston; a noble preacher and writer, whose earnestness of purpose, and lofty sweep of thought, kept in subordination (but not always) his flashing and scorching wit, and vivified his abundant stores of learning.

Mayhew was no longer alive; for that sharp sword early wore through the scabbard; but public opinion in New England was more than ever imbued, and public action dictated, by his audacious spirit. The denunciations of Episcopacy and arbitrary government, which he had thundered from his pulpit, were still the favorite reading of a serious-minded and angry people; and his influence may be traced in Whig sermons and pamphlets during the whole period that elapsed, from the closing of Boston Port, to the firing of the volley on Lexington Common. . . . Mayhew traced the origin of his political and his ecclesiastical creed to the prose works of John Milton; nor was the surge of his eloquence, or the furious, and sometimes turbid, current of his invective, unworthy of the source from which his doctrine had been drawn. The vehemence of language employed by such men at such epochs—surprising, and even shocking, to a cool and impartial posterity,—has a prime historical value as illustrating the inner mind of those among their contemporaries and fellow citizens who listened to such high-pitched and scathing rhetoric with unreserved conviction and enthusiastic approval.”⁸⁰

Lecky, in his *American Revolution*, has much to the same effect.

Moses Coit Tyler, in his *Literary History of the American Revolution*, devoted an entire chapter to Jonathan Mayhew, describing him as “a great master of the art of rational and passionate speech, and for twenty years from his coigne of vantage in the pulpit, a robust and fiery antagonist of almost every form of arbitrary authority in church and state, a man of such boldness of character, splendor of diction, wit, sarcasm and invective, of such enthusiasm for all spacious and breezy views of freedom and duty, that he had become a sort of tribune of the people.”⁸¹

Surely this ancestor of ours rates a place on the honor roll of authors of American Independence.

⁸⁰ Trevelyan, George, *The American Revolution*, New York, 1903, Part II, v. II, pp. 302-303; reprinted by permission of Longmans, Green and Company, publishers.

⁸¹ Moses Coit Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, New York, 1897, I, pp. 121-122; reprinted by permission of the publishers, G. P. Putnam’s Sons.

STUYVESANT

Your descent from Petrus Stuyvesant, the last Dutch governor of New Netherlands, is important in your pedigree.

A stone inserted in the foundation wall of old St. Mark's Church in the Bouerie in New York City bears the inscription:

In this vault lies buried
Petrus Stuyvesant
late Captain General and Governor in Chief
of New Amsterdam
in New Netherland, now called New York,
and the Dutch West Indies Islands A.D. 1671-2
aged 80 years

My mother, your grandmother, Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant, was a direct descendant in the sixth generation from that last Dutch governor.

The name Stuyvesant is derived from the Dutch verb *stuiven*, to stir or raise, and *sand*, the same as in English, well fitting the career of the Governor. It occurs in Holland as far back as the Thirteenth Century. It was not uncommon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, but seems now to have died out as a surname, except for several small places so named. In the Eighteenth Century there was a Van Stuyvesant arms-bearing family in Utrecht. The name seems to have been borne mostly by mariners and ship captains.

Petrus, or Peter, as he is better known, was commonly understood to have been born at Scherpenzeel in Friesland, in 1592, this date corresponding with the age given on the vault stone; but more recently discovered records fix his birth as October 13, 1602, making him seventy rather than eighty at his death.¹ His father was the Reverend Balthazar Johannes, or Janzoon, Stuyvesant, a clergyman of the Reformed Dutch Church, the son of

¹ Fish, Stuyvesant. "Peter Stuyvesant," *Pamphlet No. 22. Order of Colonial Lords of the Manor*. Baltimore, 1930.

STUYVESANT

Petrus Stuyvesant..... Born in Holland 1602; died in New York
(Judith Bayard)¹ 1671-72. Last Dutch Governor of the
Province of New Netherland. The progeni-

or of our Stuyvesant family.

Nicholas William Stuyvesant.....Baptized in New York 1648; died there (?)
(Elizabeth VanSchlechterhorst)? He was the father of:

He was the father of:

Gerardus Stuyvesant..... Baptized in New York 1691; died there
(Judith Bayard)³ in 1777.

He was the father of:

Petrus Stuyvesant..... Born in New York 1727; died there
(Margaret Livingston)⁴ in 1805.

in 1805.

He was the father of:

Nicholas William Stuyvesant..... Born in New York 1769; died there
(Catherine Livingston Reade)⁵ in 1833.

in 1833.

He was the father of:

Nicholas William Stuyvesant..... Born in New York 1803; died there
(Augusta Content Chesebrough)⁶ in 1871.
He was the father of

III 1871.

Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant..... My mother, your grandmother, was born
(John Howard Waingright) in New York in 1839; died at Rye in 1928.

in New York in 1839: di-

¹ See Bayard

² See p. 59 Stuyvesant

³ See Bayard

⁴ See Livingston and Beekman

⁵ See Livingston

⁶ See Chesebrough and Rathbone



PETER STUYVESANT (1602-1672)
Captain General and Governor in Chief of
New Netherlands and the Dutch West Indies

a Johannes Stuyvesant of Dockum, or Dokkum, on the seacoast, the seat of a college of admiralty. His mother, born in 1575, was Margaret Hardenstein, of a patrician family of Guelderland. The Reverend Balthazar Stuyvesant matriculated at the University of Franeker on May 22, 1605. Before 1619 he was minister of the church at Scherpenzeel. His next charge was Berlicum in Franeker, in the church list of members of which he made this entry: "'July 18, 1622 on Friday am I, Balthazar Stuyfsant, with my wife and children come to live at Berlicum.'"² Margaret, his wife, died May 2, 1625 at the age of fifty. Two years later, while still settled at Berlicum, he married for a second time, in Haarlem on July 22, 1627, the betrothal being entered in the church records of that place, "'11 July 1627. Balthazar Stuyvesant, we (widower) Van Dockum, Dinaer des Goddelicken woords tot Berlicum met Styvtjen Pieters van Haarlem, we (widow) van Adrian Gerritsz.'"² His final pastorate was at Delfzyl, where he died May 26, 1637. The children by the first marriage were Peter and Anna, or Anneke; by the second: Margaret, Catherine, Johannes and Balthazar.

No information appears available as to the Governor's early life or schooling, undoubtedly at Scherpenzeel. His parentage would imply advantages of a superior education. His writings reveal him a man of culture, well grounded in Latin, well versed in the Scriptures. His bearing and general attitude indicate early military training; indeed, he is said to have served in the Army before entering, at a comparatively early age, the service of the Dutch West India Company. This company, organized in 1621, though its charter was not granted till 1623 by the States General, was endowed with unlimited powers to trade and colonize in Africa and the Western Hemisphere, with authority to maintain an independent naval and military force of its own, and to contest the power of Spain and Portugal in northern South America and the Caribbean. The first definite mention of Peter Stuyvesant's connection with the West India Company appears

² Van Hoevenberg, Amelia. "The Stuyvesants in the Netherlands and New Netherlands," *New York Historical Society Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 1, April 1926, p. 4.

in a letter written by his father to the Company on October 11, 1635, asking for promotion of his son, "Petrus Stuftsant, commys or supercargo at Fernando Norhunna," then on his way to Pernambuco (Recife), Brazil.

The Company had become enriched from the capture of Spanish treasure ships, and, besides owning a considerable part of Brazil, had become possessed of the important island of Curacao and its dependents, Aruba, Buenaire, and Little Curacao, a group of the Leeward Islands lying off the coast of Venezuela. That Stuyvesant served the Company well appears from our finding him eight years later, in 1643, Governor or Director of Curacao and its dependent Islands. The fortunes of the Company had, however, in the meanwhile, become much altered, for the Dutch had been driven from most of Brazil by the Portuguese, who were similarly menacing Dutch settlers on the nearby island of St. Martin. On December 18, 1643, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed "to obtain a blessing upon an expedition to be led by the director in person."³ On January 14, 1644, it was resolved "to attack and reduce the island of St. Martin."³ On March 16 a resolution was passed on the ship *Blauwehein*, carrying the expedition, "'to attack the island tomorrow.'"³ While the Governor was leading the attack, his right leg was shattered by a cannon ball, necessitating amputation on his return to Curacao, where the leg was buried. The inscription on a stone, said still to mark the place of burial, describes it as the right leg.⁴ On April 16 the siege was raised. Later in the same year the Governor returned to Holland for further medical or surgical treatment. There the leg he had lost was replaced by one of wood with silver bands around it.

For more than a year he stayed at Alphen on the Rhine at the home of his sister, Anna, and of her husband, Samuel Bayard,

³*Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ Author's recent information from Mr. Van Stuyvesant Meijen, a former Dutch naval officer who has visited Curaçao, and a descendant of a brother of the Reverend Balthazar Stuyvesant.

whom she had married in November, 1638. He was the son of a Huguenot clergyman, the Reverend Lazare Bayard, pastor of the Walloon or French Huguenot Church at Breda, and of Judith De Vos. Anna had been twenty-five; Samuel, twenty-six, at the time of their marriage.

Along with the only known portrait of the Governor himself, an oil painting of the Alphen house and grounds with Samuel and Anna in the foreground, and also portraits of the Reverend Lazare Bayard and Judith De Vos, are in the valuable collection of Stuyvesant portraits with the New York Historical Society. They were noted in 1768 by a French visitor, Pierre de Simitierre, at the New York house of the Governor's grandson, Gerardus Stuyvesant; that of the Governor is described as "'a portrait in busto of the said Pieter in oil with a falling band and tossals, armour and sash.'"⁵ The one of the Governor undoubtedly was that painted by an artist, Hendrix Cousterier, in New Amsterdam, referred to in a petition dated June 12, 1663; here Cousterier's wife prays to the burgomasters to be relieved of payment of the so-called "burgher right" granted to her husband by the Governor in return for a painting of himself and drawings of his sons. These drawings are also in the Stuyvesant collection.

On August 13, 1645, Peter Stuyvesant was married in the French Church at Breda to Judith Bayard, sister of the Samuel Bayard who had already married Peter's sister. The Bayards were of an ancient Huguenot refugee family, said to have fled from France to Holland and to have been descended from the famous Chevalier de Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche*. A transcription of the marriage intention certificate of Peter Stuyvesant and Judith Bayard, recorded in the Alphen Church, reads as follows: "Mr. Pieter Stuyvesant of Stellingwerf young (or unmarried) gentleman, Director General, New Netherland, with Judith Bayard, young maiden of Breda. These persons have on the 6th day of August (1645) been given a certificate to marry at Breda." The record in French of the marriage in the Breda

⁵ Wall, A. J. "New York City's Tercentenary and the Stuyvesant Family Portraits," *New York Historical Society Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 1, April 1926, p. 15.

Church on August 13, 1645, states, "Mons. Pieter Stuyvesant, J.H., directeur de la partie de la Compagnie de Oestinde en Nieu Nederland, et Judith Bayard, jeune fille de mons. Bayard, en sa vie pasteur de l'église a Breda."

As already noted, the fortunes of the Dutch West India Company had by then fallen to a low ebb. Gold and silver from captured galleons had faded from the picture. The Company had been driven almost entirely from the Main in South America and left with but a precarious hold on Curacao and its adjacent small islands. In North America the Company's interests had become equally unpromising. Indian wars, threats from the neighboring English, misrule and mismanagement by the governors, and neglect, had been among the causes producing that result. A change of policy, with a strong hand to administer on this side of the water, had become imperative. The States General decided to combine the government of the New Netherland in North America and that of the West India Islands dependencies under one Director General, who, with a Vice-Director and schout fiscal, or finance, officer, should constitute an Executive Council. For Director General they had at hand in Holland their brave, experienced and incorruptible former Director of Curacao, Peter Stuyvesant. Accordingly, for that post he was nominated to the States General by the Company. Indeed, he appears to have already applied for the position, there being a record showing his appearance on October 14, 1645, before the Zeeland Chamber of the Company, "offering his services to go to the New Netherland and requesting speed in procuring equipment." The States General decided to appoint him, but owing to questions relating to trade and to conflicting interests of the various Chambers constituting the Company, his commission as Director General was not issued till July 28, 1646.

Since Stuyvesant has been criticized, if not condemned, for unwarranted, arbitrary exercise of power and for unjustifiable disregard of the rights and interests of the burghers of New Amsterdam, it may not be amiss to refer to the precise terms of his commission. A full translation appears in the New York

Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin already cited, and also upon the base of the bronze bust of the Governor which stands in the portico of St. Mark's Church in the Bouwerie. Therein,

"The States General . . . confiding in the probity and experience of the person of Petrus Stuyvesant, formerly entrusted with our affairs in the government of the aforesaid island of Curaçao and the places thereon depending, with whose services we have been well pleased . . . (commission and appoint Stuyvesant) . . . Director of the aforesaid territory of New Netherland . . . to administer with the council now appointed or hereafter to be appointed with him the said office of Director both on land and water and in said capacity . . . to direct all matters relating to traffic or war and to keep everything in good order for the service of the United Netherlands and the General West India Company; to provide for the security of the places and forts there; to administer law and justice as well in criminal as civil cases; and furthermore, to perform all that concerns his duties and office in accordance with the Charter and the general and particular instructions to be taken with him or hereafter to be given him as a good and faithful Director is bound and ought to do under his oath to be taken before us; which having been taken, we therefore order and command all other officers, common soldiers, together with the inhabitants and natives . . . to acknowledge, respect and obey the said Petrus Stuyvesant as our Director . . . and to afford him all help, aid and assistance in the performance of these presents, as we have found to be necessary for the services of the Company."

No reference or suggestion is here as to any burgher's sharing in the government, nor does it appear that he was given previous instructions thereto. Indeed, in the only particular instructions known to have been given him, namely, on July 7, 1645, a year previous to the issue of his commission, the only reference to the burghers is to charge the Governor "'first of all to establish the colonists and freemen on the Island of Manhattan and grant them as much land as they shall be able to cultivate.'"⁶ His paramount concern was to be the interests of the United Netherlands and the Company.

⁶ Wilson, James Grant, *Memorial History of the City of New York*, New York, 1892, Vol. I, p. 245.

On Christmas Day, 1646, Stuyvesant set sail for his new post with a fleet of four ships, accompanied by the two other members of the Council, soldiers, colonists, traders and others. Judith, his wife, was with him on the ship *Princess Amelia*. Most of the accounts state that he was accompanied by his widowed sister, Anna Bayard, and her three sons, Balthazar, Peter and Nicholas. Stuyvesant Fish, however, in his *Ancestors of Hamilton Fish*, declares that Anna and her sons did not come over till some years later, 1652-3, there being a statement to the same effect in Miss Van Hoevenberg's article in the New York Historical Society's *Bulletin*. On the voyage, accompanying Stuyvesant as his secretary, was the youthful William Beekman, destined also to play an important role in the colony. Stuyvesant came by way of Curacao, where he tarried for some weeks, not arriving at Manhattan till May 11, 1647.

He was formally inaugurated as Governor or Director General on May 27 in the presence of a great throng that had come to greet and welcome their new Governor. Although he was received with enthusiasm and warmth by a people who had suffered long and grievously under his predecessors and who naturally expected of this new governor great things, the ardor of the great throng soon became chilled. During the whole delivery of his inaugural address he kept them standing uncovered while he kept on his own headgear, assuming an arrogant, haughty manner, and telling them, "I shall govern you as a father his children for the advantage of the Dutch West India Company and the burghers and this land," and carrying himself "peacock-like" with great pomposity as though he had been "the Czar of Muscovy."⁷ Paternal care such as he had announced was far from what they had expected.

At this point, some personal description of this famous ancestor of ours may not be amiss. His stern unbending ways earned for him the irreverent title of "Hard Koppig (hard-headed) Piet;" the silver bands about his wooden leg, that of

⁷ So related by those who later became his bitter opponents in their Remonstrance and Petition for his removal.

"Old Silverleg." A sturdy soldier, about forty-five years of age (or fifty-five, as the case may be), when he landed at Manhattan, he was somewhat above the medium height, with a fine physique, bearing himself "like a prince."⁸ His portrait, according to Mrs. Lamb's *History*, shows him with stern features, close-shaven except for a slight mustache, with a long drooping nose, a bald crown covered with a skull cap, and long sidelocks; he is pictured as a soldier, as he always preferred to be regarded, wearing a steel cuirass, and a scarf and broad linen collar, with cord and tassels. He was upright and sober in private life, impulsive but prudent in the face of difficulties, energetic and conscientious in performing his whole duty as he saw it; of a severe morality, but of strong passions and prejudices; of a somewhat unapproachable manner; a dictator by military instinct, stubborn and opinionated, yet courageous and able; with a kind heart and warm affections, though his creed was rigid. Honest, resolute and brave, he well fitted the description the poet Horace applied to Romulus "'a just man of determined intentions.'"⁹ Bancroft calls him "the brave and honest Stuyvesant . . . a soldier of experience, a scholar of some experience . . . promoted for his service to the government."¹⁰

To comprehend the difficult situation and problems Stuyvesant faced on arrival, a brief summary of the previous history of the land he was to govern becomes necessary.

The Dutch claimed all the territory from the Delaware to the Connecticut River, and beyond even as far as Cape Cod, relying principally on Hendrick Hudson's entries into both the Delaware and Hudson Rivers in 1609, and on voyages of later Dutch mariners. The English from the beginning disputed the entire Dutch claim, themselves claiming the land by right of earlier

⁸ Lamb, Martha, *History of the City of New York*, New York City, 1877. Vol. I, p. 128.

⁹ Wilson, I, p. 243.

¹⁰ Bancroft, George, *History of the United States*. Edition of 1883. Vol. I, p. 507.

discoveries by their own mariners, notably Sebastian Cabot in the previous century. Indeed, in 1662 they had definitely laid claim to all New Netherland as part of New England. Particularly as to the Connecticut, the question had been under acute discussion between the English and Dutch Governors before Stuyvesant. In 1613, two Dutch mariners, Hendrick Christiansen and Adrian Block, had ascended both the Hudson and the Delaware and returned with furs, bringing back with them two "Indian sachims." The following year they were again sent out by a company of merchants who had been granted trading privileges in that quarter by the States General. Block's vessel, the *Tiger*, took fire off the end of Manhattan Island and burned to the water's edge. On the shore he and his crew built houses in which they spent the winter, during which time Block was able to build another small vessel of sixteen tons, which he named the *Onrust* ("Restless"). In this he cruised up through Long Island Sound, entered the Housatonic, ascended the Connecticut as far as the site of Hartford, discovered the island off the coast which bears his name; entered Narragansett Bay, giving the name "Rood (red) Eylandt" to Newport Island (later applied to all the territory comprising Rhode Island); and doubled Cape Cod, cruising, surveying, and mapping the entire coast as far as Nahant in Massachusetts. Christiansen meanwhile had sailed up the Hudson and established a trading post on Castle Island, below what is now Albany. At about this same time, still another mariner, Cornelius Jacobson May, sent out by the same company, cruised around Delaware Bay, one cape of which was given his name.

Block and Christiansen fell in with each other and exchanged boats, Block returning to Holland in that of Christiansen. In Holland he made a report to the States General which greatly stimulated interest in the country and led, in 1614, to the granting of a charter to the Company which had sent out the voyagers, under the name of the "United Netherland Company." To it was granted the exclusive right to visit and navigate lands surveyed in North America for four voyages within three years from January 1, 1615, with a monopoly of trade in the territory, which

was named "New Netherland." In 1623 the Dutch West India Company was incorporated under the authority of the States General, succeeding to the rights of the United Netherland Company, and being granted exclusive rights to trade and plant colonies on both sides of the Atlantic. In Africa, its limits ran from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope; in America, from the Straits of Magellan to the farthest North. Meanwhile, a settlement with a fort and store-houses for the fur trade had been established in New Netherland at the tip of Manhattan Island, another having already been built farther up the Hudson, and still another on the river called "Connecticut" by the Indians, and the "Fresh Water" by the Dutch. Still another settlement was planted in the north shore of the Delaware River, claim being made to both shores. The principal incentive for all these settlements was the fur trade with the Indians.

The first Director sent out by the Company in 1624 was the Cornelius May already mentioned, who was succeeded by William Van Hulst.

In 1626 a definite form of government for New Netherland was formulated, and a third governor, or Director-General, one Peter Minuit, was sent out. Thereupon emigration to the New Netherland began to flow. In May of 1626 Minuit made the famous purchase from the Indians of all of Manhattan Island for some trifling articles valued at about sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. Under Minuit's regime the mistaken policy was adopted of attempting to colonize the country through a system of patroons, or overlordships. Thereunder, vast grants of land were made to favored individuals, who exploited the country far more in their own interest than in that of the Company, yielding to the latter a scant allegiance. This system naturally worked decidedly to the disadvantage and neglect of the little capital settlement on Manhattan. The most noticeable of the Patroons was William Van Renssalaer, one of the Company's own directors, who never even visited his principality, leaving its entire management and control to a factor or agent. Minuit was harsh and unwise in his dealings with the Indians. Through punitive measures which he had taken to avenge the murder of

one of the settlers, he brought on the first real Indian war, which resulted in grievous injury to the whole enterprise, planting seeds of constantly recurring Indian troubles. Minuit lasted till 1632, then being recalled on account of his undue zeal in the interest of the Patroons.

Wouter Van Twiller, who followed Minuit, proved another unfortunate choice. He was relieved in 1637 for general mismanagement and for feathering his own nest by improperly helping himself to large tracts of land; among his acquisitions was Nutten Island, which thus became known, as it is to this day, as Governor's Island.

Next came William Kiefft, an arbitrary, narrow-minded individual, constantly at odds with the burghers. He it was who let in, unwisely, as the event proved, the English, according them extensive rights at the west end of Long Island; he also permitted the Swedes to encroach on the Delaware, where they built a fort on the south or west shore, sowing the seed of trouble in that quarter. But worst of all, he too, quite unnecessarily, brought on an even more devastating and bloody Indian war, which spread ruin and desolation with great loss of life, reducing the province to a state of discouragement and impoverishment and causing a general exodus of settlers.

Because of this situation in New Netherland and the almost complete collapse of its interests in South America, the West India Company had become reduced almost to bankruptcy, and was unable or unwilling to incur further expense on account of its New Netherland enterprise. Kiefft, recalled in 1645, was permitted to stay on till his successor arrived.

Stuyvesant found a difficult situation confronting him, a condition of complete demoralization, with finance and trade in utter ruin, the little capital half ruined, emptied of a large part of its population, while those remaining were despondent, discouraged, hopeless. Hostile English claims to the entire territory had been asserted; enemies belonging to that race were already within the gates. From interminable quarrels between

burghers and governors, local government was at loose ends. The greater part of the population still left in the town was huddled about the fort. The boundaries of the capital settlement were the water fronts and the present line of Wall Street. A town plan was entirely lacking: streets ran hither and thither haphazardly, often as mere dusty paths in which hogs wallowed and ran at large; houses were of wood, flimsy in construction, even chimneys being of wood; drunkenness, disorder, squalor and immorality prevailed.

Stuyvesant entered vigorously upon his task of bringing order out of the chaos.

First he ordered that the fort, which had been allowed to fall into a "most perilous and dangerous condition of decay," be repaired. Next he organized a court of justice over which he himself should preside when he deemed desirable. Then he proclaimed a series of reforms and regulations. No taverns or dram shops were to be opened without his consent; no intoxicants to be sold after the ringing of the town bell at nine o'clock on weekday evenings nor on Sundays before two in the afternoon; drunkards to be arrested and punished. Stringent regulations against the sale of arms were announced, with capital punishment for the sale of liquor to Indians. He proposed the erection of a pier for the convenience of citizens, where no vessel might anchor except at a prescribed anchorage nor unload after sunset or before sun-up. He issued strict harbor regulations to prevent smuggling, making it mandatory for merchants to exhibit books of account for inspection, while furs, the principal object of export, were to be officially stamped before shipment. To prevent persistent desecration of the Sabbath and keep the minds of the people better employed on that day, divine service with sermon was to be held on Sunday afternoon as well as morning, and all secular activities must cease. Farms had to be fenced; a board of fire wardens was appointed; no building might be erected without approval of the official surveyor; street nuisances were to be abated.

To raise the necessary funds, he proclaimed a tax or excise on all imports and sales of wines and liquors. This brought on his head an immediate storm of indignation and protest from the burghers. They hotly disputed his right or authority to proclaim taxes without even consulting them. Especially they objected to such methods of raising funds for the expense of repairing the fort and maintaining the garrison, which they declared was not their affair but that of the Company. To enlist their co-operation, without, however, recognizing any right of the burghers to share in the government, Stuyvesant and his council on September 25, 1647, issued an ordinance creating a board or council of nine men; three to be appointed by the Governor from the merchants, three from the burghers, and three from the farmers, all to be chosen from a list of eighteen names to be submitted; six members were to retire each year, and Stuyvesant was to appoint the presiding officer. By the terms of this ordinance, the desire was expressed that "our capital be provided and furnished with a proper and strong Fort, a Church, Schools, Sheet Piling, a pier and similarly highly necessary public and common works and buildings," and the citizens were not to be oppressed by undue taxation. The Nine Men were "to assist to the best of their knowledge and information in promoting and forwarding the welfare of both the Commonwealth and Commonality, to act as good spokesmen and agents of the Commonality as far as lies in their power, to help to promote the honor of God and welfare of our dear Fatherland, the greatest advantage of a worthy Commonality, and the advancement of the pure Reformed Religion as taught at this day here and in Netherland."

In other words, the Council was to advise and discuss only, being without power to originate or decide, and it was to meet only when convened by the Director himself. He submitted to them a general program for the things he wished accomplished and for raising the necessary funds. The Nine approved of all these objects, including even repairs to the fort and church and the building of a school house with maintenance of a teacher; but took exception to those relating to the soldiery. Controversy

between the Governor and the Nine did not end there. The breach between them continually widened until finally the relations became so strained that some of the leading burghers went so far as to take steps to have the Director recalled, as will appear later.

Besides these difficulties with his own people, Stuyvesant had to face the problem of the English encroachment.

And now, as to Stuyvesant's troubles with the English. The Dutch, with their feeble fort and garrison at Hartford, had been powerless to prevent either the spread of the English to the west of the Connecticut River or the rapid growth of Hartford and New Haven as predominantly English towns. Although the lands were settled by the English, the Dutch still laid claim to all the territory far up the Connecticut. In 1648 Stuyvesant's first acute trouble in that quarter arose when at New Haven he forcibly cut out and brought back to Manhattan a Dutch vessel claimed to be trading unlawfully at New Haven. The English furiously denounced his act, asserting that the Dutch had no authority whatever at New Haven. Yet at this very time, strange as it may seem, the New Haven Governor was congratulating his Dutch colleague on the birth of his first son, Balthazar. Soon another dispute arose, this time over the English habit of harboring and refusing to surrender Dutch servants who had run away to New Haven. It was then Stuyvesant's turn to be enraged. He met the English refusal of his protest with the declaration that "if any person, noble or ignoble, free or slave, debtor or creditor, yea, the lowest prisoner included" fled to New Amsterdam, he might remain if he took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch. Then the English became particularly incensed because the Dutch seemed to be getting the cream of the Indian fur trade. They went so far as to accuse Stuyvesant of selling arms to and having other nefarious dealings with the Indians. This accusation Stuyvesant vigorously and indignantly denied as preposterously false, offering to submit the truth or falsity of this charge and of all other matters in dispute to arbitration by the Governors of Massachusetts, which responsibility those functionaries discreetly side-stepped.

In that same year, 1648, Stuyvesant had his first trouble up the North River with the Van Renssalaer agent, Barent (or Brandt) Van Schlectenhorst, who denied to the Governor any authority whatever over the Patroon's domain, within which, he asserted, Fort Orange itself was included. Stuyvesant thereupon went up the River with soldiers, and among other things forbade, for defensive reasons, that any buildings in Beverwyck (the Van Renssalaer village on the west side of the river, now Albany, in which the fort stood) should stand within musket range of the fort, and ordered that all such structures should be removed. Failure to comply being indicated, he ordered his soldiers to tear down all houses within the forbidden area, the stones to be used to strengthen the fort. Unfortunately, however, his force was not sufficiently strong to ensure in carrying that order into effect.

In 1649, trouble with his Nine Men finally blazed into flame. These had continued consistently to resent bitterly what they termed his arbitrary, tyrannical ways and, as they contended, unwarranted assumption of authority. Indeed, they went even so far as to accuse him of selling arms belonging to the government for his own profit. Finally they decided to send a delegation from their number with a letter of remonstrance to protest directly to the States General. Getting wind of this proposal, Stuyvesant declared all communication with home authorities must go through him, forbade their holding public meetings to raise funds, and put their leader, one Van Der Donck, in jail. The others went ahead nevertheless and prepared a formal Remonstrance or Statement of Grievances with Petition, embodying a violent arraignment of Stuyvesant; and three of their number, including the released Van Der Donck, sailed to Holland to lay the matter before the States General. That august body, having already entertained an appeal from a sentence of Stuyvesant's in a criminal case, assumed jurisdiction over the head of the West India Company and referred the whole subject for report to the deputies charged with oversight of the affairs of the Company. The result was the removal of the duty on tobacco, a decision to formulate a new form of government for the capital

city, and a summons to Stuyvesant to return to Holland to meet the accusations against him.

This summons he declined to obey, but sent over in his stead an attorney to represent him, and went so far as to refuse to honor a safe conduct from the States General for two of the Nine Men's delegates on their return from Holland. Van Der Donck, their leader, remained in Holland to see the matter through. The attorney the Governor sent over, one Van Tienhoven, a man particularly obnoxious to the remonstrants, filed an Answer to the Remonstrance in November 1650. Thereupon an amended and stronger Remonstrance was submitted, the matter again being sent back for review by the deputies for the affairs of the Company.

This Remonstrance, the "Vertoogh" as it was called, stressed the following causes as responsible for the lamentable conditions in the province:

1. The unsuitability of the government
2. The meagerness of privileges and exemptions
3. The onerousness of the duties and taxes
4. The strain of the long war with the Indians
5. The disproportionate number of traders as compared to farmers
6. The arrogance of the Indians
7. The failure of the Company to meet its responsibilities
8. Over and above all, the incompetence and intolerable tyranny of the Director General.

The remonstrants declared that they "flew for refuge" to the States General after waiting in vain for redress from the Company; that an independent popular government would profit them far more than any amount of paternal government; and finally, that if they were not better supported, the English would soon absorb the province, which would lose its very name.

Thereupon the States General issued a "Provisional Order respecting the Government and for the Preservation and Peopling of New Netherland." Among other things, this order provided

that the city, under the name of New Amsterdam, should have a burgher form of government, to consist of one Schout or sheriff, and a board of two burgomasters and five Schepens (aldermen); that the Nine Men should be continued for three more years; that no hostilities with the Indians should be undertaken without notifying the home government; that a militia should be enrolled; that there should be at least one schoolmaster and three competent clergymen; that agriculture, and trade with Brazil, should be improved; that the two members of the Council in addition to the Governor should be chosen from the communities and patroonships; that the consent of the Council should be required for all duties and taxes; and finally that Stuyvesant should be relieved as Director General and replaced by one better versed in agriculture, and that Stuyvesant should be required to appear in person before the States General.

To this decree the Company raised objections, claiming that in it the States General assumed to exercise powers in violation of the Company's charter, and expressing entire satisfaction with their present Director General. Of this they informed him, advising, however, that he be more cautious and lenient in his dealings with the burghers; Stuyvesant, however, true to form, declining even to publish an order to which his immediate superiors dissented, refused flatly to heed the new order for his recall and declared that he "would do as he pleased and stay where he was." Strangely enough, in all this controversy with the home authorities, the Long Island English favored Stuyvesant's side of the issue.

So the matter rested for three more years, the delegates from the Nine staying on in Holland to press for putting the order into effect, and Stuyvesant's ire rising continually till finally his temper so over-whelmed his judgment that he alienated the support of even the two other members of his own Council. He went so far as to demote Van Dyck, the Schout Fiscal, from the function of Attorney General to that of Clerk, finally reducing him to the pleasant task of keeping the pigs away from the fort. Indeed, the situation became so tense that the Governor

felt obliged, when he went about, to have a bodyguard of soldiers.

The English problem was not quiescent during this time. In 1650 the Governor brought about a conference at Hartford to decide on the boundary line between New England and New Netherland, to which he went in state accompanied by a large retinue. On the way a preliminary controversy arose with the Governor of New Haven, who had refused to receive a letter addressed to him at New Haven "in New Netherland," insisting that it should be "in New England." Stuyvesant finally compromised on "Connecticut." At the conference he laid particular claim to the lands about Hartford, to which he had acquired the Indian titles. Three arbitrators for each side were appointed. His choice of three Manhattan Englishmen to represent the Dutch side of the case raised a storm of protest in New Amsterdam.

In the end, a boundary line "between the United English Colonies and the Dutch Provinces of New Netherland" was agreed upon. It was to run on Long Island from the westernmost point of Oyster Bay in a straight line to the seashore; on the mainland, from the west side of Greenwich Bay, four miles below Stamford, twenty miles inland, but not to come within ten miles of the North or Hudson River; all lands beyond this line were to be left to subsequent agreement. The Dutch agreed not to build in the meanwhile within six miles of the line. Greenwich was to remain Dutch; the Dutch were also to hold the fort and the land which they actually occupied about Hartford. All other territory on both sides of the Connecticut, or Fresh Water, River, down to the Greenwich line was to remain English. It was agreed by both that these terms were to be observed without molestation until ratified by the two home governments. The English were more than satisfied, having secured all they had contended for. Not so Stuyvesant. Enraged at the decision, he is said to have shouted out, when informed of it, that his own arbitrators had sold him out. In reporting the conference to New Amsterdam, he failed to state the precise terms agreed upon. The result caused great dissatisfaction in Manhattan. The Nine Men complained bitterly that the English had outwitted the Director. One thing, how-

ever, Stuyvesant made plain: that he would resist to the bitter end any intrusion on the Delaware or South River. Indeed, not long after, when a ship from New Haven bound for the Delaware put in at Manhattan, he took from it and jailed some fifty prospective colonists bound for that quarter.

In Holland the West India Company continued consistently to uphold Stuyvesant. When the great naval war between Holland and England broke out in 1652, the Company insisted that in view of the possibility of invasion of New Netherland a seasoned, experienced soldier such as Stuyvesant was needed where he was. To this the States General acquiesced, and rescinded the order for his recall, directing that all possible measures for defense be taken. The Company, on the other hand, yielded on the new form of government for New Amsterdam.

February 14, 1653 marks an important date in the chronicle of New York, for on that day its first government on a representative basis was put into effect, with the officials as above enumerated holding legislative, judicial, and a considerable degree of executive, power. Yet Stuyvesant insisted that he make the appointments, notwithstanding that the plain intent of the order required that the principal offices should be filled by election; and he further insisted that he should preside at all meetings.

Strange as it may appear, during all this controversial time he kept on personally friendly terms with the New England governors, writing them amicable letters and urging that trade between their people and his should not be affected by reason of the impending war. Yet he vigorously concentrated on measures of defense, organized a burgher corps of three companies, and began the construction of a defensive wall, or wooden palisado or stockade along the northern flank of the city. Running from the East to the North River, with ditches on both sides, it followed the line now marked by Wall Street, whence the name of that street. The cost of this defensive work necessitated the first creation of municipal debt, to help to meet which he yielded part of his hitherto jealously guarded duties on spirituous liquors,

but only on condition that the sum should be applied to the salaries of the clergyman and schoolmaster.

Having denied to the Van Renssalaers the right to the Catskill region, in 1651 he declared the Hudson River to be absolutely free to commerce. When Van Schlectenhorst came down to Manhattan to protest, he was promptly put in jail. Later Stuyvesant demanded that the Patroon bear a share in the expense of the South River, hereinafter to be described. Continual broils arising between the Beverwyck settlers and the Fort George garrison, the next year Stuyvesant again went up the river and proclaimed all of Beverwyck to be outside the Patroon's jurisdiction, set up a civil court in the fort, and put Van Schlectenhorst again under arrest for having had his proclamation torn down.

At about this time the English made the very serious charge that Stuyvesant incited the Indians to rise against them and even to poison their wells. This the Governor denied with righteous indignation, his own people standing unitedly behind him. Connecticut wished that this charge should be employed as a pretext for war on the Dutch, but Massachusetts declined to give any weight to such a charge. Connecticut and New Haven then applied to Cromwell, the Lord Protector in England, to help drive the Dutch out of New Netherland. Thereupon Cromwell, professing to believe the charge, sent over four ships with two hundred soldiers, requiring the United Colonies to join in the effort. The Connecticut people seized the Dutch Fort Good Hope at Hartford, and over four hundred men were recruited in New England for the general enterprise. New Amsterdam, thoroughly alarmed and well knowing that its own English inhabitants would join the enemy, took all possible means for resistance. A force was to be recruited in the city to supplement the fort garrison, and every third man in the outlying towns was to be pressed into service. However, just as the hostile force was about to sail from New England, countermarching orders arrived from England, as peace had been concluded with Holland. In the treaty of peace, concluded in 1656, the Dutch claim to New Netherland was definitely recognized. The Company thereupon

urged the States General to make every effort to have the boundary question settled. But, to their consternation, it was found that no copy of the Hartford treaty was available.

Stuyvesant's relations with his burghers had now come to run a smoother course, due in large measure to the inauguration of the new form of government. On the other hand, the Long Island English towns had become increasingly troublesome, protesting that they were not receiving proper protection from Indian outrages. At a convention of all the towns, held at the Stadt Huis in New Amsterdam, the delegates declared their allegiance was owed to the States General only, not to the Company. Indeed, they went so far as to insist that neither the Governor nor the Council should be admitted to their deliberations but rather that burgomasters alone should take part, declaring that though the Company made them pay the taxes, when it came to fighting the savages they were left to shift for themselves. Stuyvesant advanced his usual contention that the people had no inherent rights anyway, and proclaimed the convention to be a thoroughly lawless body. Thereupon the Long Islanders sent a remonstrance, or protest, to Holland. There the Company held that their procedure was entirely frivolous and out of order and that Stuyvesant's only fault had been in treating the ringleaders too softly. At this answer, the dissidents raised the English flag, whereupon the Governor sent over soldiers who carried the ringleaders off to jail in New Amsterdam.

In 1654 Stuyvesant undertook a voyage to Barbadoes to cultivate better trade with the English and Spanish in the West Indies, an undertaking which met with scant success. However, before his departure on this venture, the burgomasters tendered him a farewell public banquet, described as a "joyful repast," indicating an absence of any remaining hard feelings, though the Governor had just turned down their request to be permitted to name their own successors. In return, he had sought to soothe their feelings by presenting the City with a fine official coat of arms and seal.

Serious trouble now arose in the South River region. The Dutch early had explored the river up to and beyond the falls

at what would now be Trenton and had opened trade with the Indians. In 1623 they had built a fort they called Nassau, on the Jersey side. Even prior to 1623 an earlier settlement had been made on Delaware Bay, which, however, had been wiped out by the Indians. Then came the Swedes, who laid claim, through purchase from the Indians, to all the territory on the west or south side of the river up to the falls. They had settled and farmed in that region in considerable numbers, and built a fort they named Christina, a few miles below the site of the present city of Wilmington, Delaware. Previous governors had mildly protested these Swedish encroachments, but in 1651 Stuyvesant went down in person, razed the Dutch Fort Nassau in the Jersey shore and, better to command both shores of the river, persuaded the Indians to give him a superseding grant to all the land below Christina. He landed soldiers at Sand Hook, four miles below Christina about where is now the city of New Castle, and there built a new fort he called Casimir, garrisoning it with Dutch soldiers and settling some Dutch families in the vicinity. Three years later the Swedes sent over a large warship with soldiers who landed and seized Fort Casimir, ousted the small Dutch garrison and changed the fort's name to Trinity, leaving there a garrison of their own and a fresh contingent of Swedish settlers.

Stuyvesant thereupon applied to Holland for help to drive out the Swedes. Upon the arrival of a ship with some soldiers sent him by the home government, he recruited a force locally, commandeered local shipping, and with an armada of seven vessels and a total force of some seven hundred men including the Dutch regulars, he sailed in August 1655 in personal command of the expedition to the Delaware. Landing troops, he demanded the immediate surrender of Fort Trinity. The Swedish commander, over-awed by show of superior force, without resistance hauled down his flag and surrendered. Thereupon Stuyvesant's troops, with colors flying and drums beating, marched in, restoring the name of the fort to Casimir. The garrison of Trinity having moved up to Christina, the Dutch followed and demanded the surrender of that fort as well. Though there was considerable firing on both sides, little damage was done and no lives were

lost, as Christina also fell. Without molesting or in any way interfering with the Swedish settlers, Stuyvesant sailed for home after leaving a garrison at Casimir and instructing its commander to watch the river closely.

Later he sent down William Beekman to act as Vice-Governor, or Director, for both sides of the river, with instructions to establish a town near Casimir on lines the Governor himself laid down. A signboard on the Green in the ancient little city of New Castle on the Delaware bears the inscription:

"The Green or Market Place laid out by Peter Stuyvesant, Dutch Governor of New Netherland, 1655. On the green stood the old Jail and Gallows. Here were held the great fairs and weekly markets."

For a year or more this settlement flourished, increasing to more than a hundred houses, but in 1656 the Company, to be relieved of the expense of Stuyvesant's expedition, transferred the whole South River area to its Amsterdam chamber, under which it was governed independently until the English in 1664 took over all of New Netherland.

Stuyvesant's insistence on the Dutch right to the west or south as well as the east or north side of the Delaware was later held to indicate a territory separate from either Maryland or Pennsylvania, leading to its recognition by the British as the separate colony of Delaware and to the present State of Delaware.¹¹

Grave and startling news greeted the Governor on his return to New Amsterdam from the South River. There had been a deadly uprising of the River Indians, occasioned by the wanton killing, on the Island of Manhattan, of an Indian squaw who had stolen some peaches. Seven or eight hundred savages, threatening violence, had come into the city, from which they were with difficulty induced by the burgher guard to withdraw. Subsequently many of the Indians went over to Pavonia on the

¹¹ For Stuyvesant's relationship to the South or Delaware River Country, see *New Castle on the Delaware*, a well-written, carefully prepared W.P.A. monograph, sponsored by the New Castle Historical Society, 1936.

Jersey shore, butchered large numbers of the inhabitants, took others prisoner, applied the torch to all the houses, and then went over to Staten Island, there repeating the process. Other savages devastated bouweries on the upper end of Manhattan and beyond the Harlem, while still others perpetrated similar atrocities on Long Island.

The burgher guard and small garrison left in the fort at New Amsterdam had been utterly unable to cope with this dreadful situation. Previously, Stuyvesant had been able to maintain good relations with the Indians, always treating them firmly but fairly and judiciously. His stern sense of justice had uniformly commanded their respect. The present serious emergency he met energetically but wisely, inducing the Indians to parley and finally to surrender their prisoners. Indeed, he went so far as to trust them with some fire-arms. Admitting that the Indians had received great provocation, yet declaring that the life of one Christian was worth that of many barbarians, he entered into a treaty of peace with the tribe.

In 1658 trouble of the same nature broke out up the Hudson at Esopus (Kingston). Here again Dutch settlers were the aggressors. The Governor personally went up there with a force of soldiers and succeeded in composing the difficulty. He directed the settlers to gather into a palisaded village, erected a block-house, and left a guard of soldiers for their protection. The next year Indian trouble in that region arose in even worse degree, this time occasioned by soldiers shooting up a party of carousing Indians suspected of mischief. Again the Governor ascended the river with soldiers and succeeded in settling the matter amicably, making treaties not only with the Esopus tribe but with the Mohawks and Mohegans farther up the river.

At this inopportune time, the Company ordered the number of regular soldiers to be reduced, leaving but a scant force in the Fort, notwithstanding Stuyvesant's protest that the 1655 uprising might well have been averted or controlled if more regulars had been left behind when he went to the South River. Nevertheless, he organized a corps of burgher cavalry to deal

with any further Indian trouble on Manhattan and Long Island, and added a burgher guard of three companies of infantry with their own officers, standards and drummers, for the city proper.

At about this time the issue with the Van Rensselaer people became finally adjusted, submission being yielded to Stuyvesant's authority. In token, an annual tribute of thirty schepels of wheat was to be paid, it also being agreed that no changes in law or regulations were to be put into effect without first being submitted for approval to the Governor and Council.

Later another serious Indian outbreak took place at Esopus. This time Stuyvesant sent up Martin Cregier, one of the burgomasters, with a strong force of volunteers, which effectively settled trouble for the future in that region by wiping out practically the entire Esopus tribe.

In 1661 a ship carrying Governor Winthrop of Connecticut and his two sons put in at New Amsterdam on its way to England. They were on their way to apply to the King for a new patent or charter to cover not only Connecticut and New England but all of New Netherland as well. Stuyvesant, in entire ignorance that such was the nature of their mission, entertained them in a most friendly and hospitable manner. Later learning the purpose of their voyage to England, he protested violently against the unrighteousness and outrage of any such proposal. But now certainly he was on definite notice that further serious trouble with his English neighbors was in the wind.

In 1663 came further rumors that the English were again seriously considering a final drive against the Dutch. Stuyvesant warned the Company that now, if ever, was the time to settle the boundary question. Word came back that he should not be alarmed but should take things easy, as peace prevailed between England and Holland. The English towns at this time failed to heed a summons from him to attend a conference at the Stadt Huis, but instead sent word direct to the Company, over Stuyvesant's head, that they now came under a new charter granted to Connecticut. Stuyvesant then tried to persuade Win-

throp finally to settle the boundary disputes "on the firm and standing bounds of the Hartford Treaty." Receiving no satisfaction from the Connecticut governor, he went personally to Boston, with no conclusive result, there being informed that the matter must stand over for the present. The concession was made, however, that in the meantime the boundary might remain "according to the true intent and meaning of the [Hartford] treaty."

More disturbing information awaited him on his return from Boston, namely, that the English towns on Long Island had gone so far as to apply to Connecticut to be "covered with the skirts of their authority" to protect them from "Dutch bondage." Again he sent up to Hartford for definite information on this score. There he was informed that the Connecticut people hesitated to incur the King's displeasure by giving any assurance as to Dutch rights, which, for that matter, they asserted, did not exist anyway. The Long Island towns were nevertheless notified by the Connecticut that for the present no authority over them would be assumed unless the Dutch attempted in any way to coerce them. As to that, Stuyvesant was unwilling to give any assurance, though he well knew he was in no position, owing to the Esopus trouble then on his hands, to enforce his authority on Long Island. An arrangement was finally reached with Hartford that easterly or southerly Westchester, or its Long Island Sound section, should come under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, the Long Island English towns to remain self-governing.

Stuyvesant has been severely condemned on the score of religious intolerance and for meting out harsh treatment to all who did not conform to the Reformed Dutch Church, the Established Church of Holland, of which he personally was an ardent and devoted adherent. But in this matter he was enforcing, maybe too rigidly and harshly, the precise terms of the so-called "Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions" granted by the States General to the West India Company in 1640, wherein it was provided that "No other Religion shall be publically admitted in New Netherland, except the Reformed as it is at present preached and practiced by public authority in the United Nether-

lands." In 1656 Stuyvesant and his Council, at the behest of the local clergy, enacted an ordinance, directed particularly against Lutherans and Quakers, prohibiting "conventicles and meetings, whether in public or private" not "in accordance with the Synod of Dort." It was Stuyvesant's personal belief that as all power came from God, obedience to the letter of the law must be rigorously exacted, so that he held that all who did not conform to the religious order established by law should be treated as disturbers of the peace. Thus Quakers expelled from Boston who were caught haranguing on the streets of New Amsterdam were thrown into jail; one of that sect found preaching in Heemsteede on Long Island was dragged to the city at a cart's tail and there, chained to a wheelbarrow, he was compelled to work on the streets under a negro holding a whip over him. The Lutherans appealed direct to Holland for greater liberality of worship. Similarly, a John Browne, a particularly contumacious Quaker in Flushing, went all the way over to Holland to secure redress of great grievance. The Company failed to uphold their Director in any such rigid and unbending attitude in matters of religion; it enjoined greater liberality and directed that Stuyvesant should "let every one remain free, as long as he is modest and moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government."

Yet, that was an age of extreme religious intolerance. If we consider the atrocities practiced, the frightful punishments inflicted during the religious controversies in England and elsewhere during that century, Stuyvesant's treatment of Quakers, though harsh and brutal according to modern standards, will be found to be by no means as severe as, for example, that accorded to the Quakers at that time in New England. Indeed, he was by no means as intolerant of dissenters from the Reformed Church as were the pious Puritans in neighboring New England to those failing to profess and practice the dominant faith and religion.

By now our respected ancestor's career as Governor was drawing to its close. Under his administration, conditions in the province committed to his charge had vastly improved. During

the last ten years of his rule there had been a steady flow of immigration. In 1660 the little provincial capital had grown to over three hundred and fifty houses, with more than fifteen hundred inhabitants as contrasted with the scant seven hundred when he had assumed control. The outside settlements had similarly increased. Bouweries were now cultivated as far north as the Harlem and beyond. On Long Island settlements had likewise multiplied in population and increased in prosperity. In the capital city brick and stone houses of the familiar Dutch type now replaced most of the earlier rude wooden structures. Streets had been paved, and many were now well shaded by trees. Fruit and flower gardens were numerous. A market house stood near the mouth of the Heere Gracht, or Great Canal (now Broad Street). The easterly waterfront had been bulkheaded along the entire line of the present Pearl Street on the East River shore. Weekly markets and annual cattle fairs were held on the Bowling Green. Ample police and fire protection was afforded. Little crime or disorder, except drunkenness, existed. The average of intelligence among the people had greatly risen, many of the burghers being now of the more highly educated class. Commerce and trade had vastly increased. On the whole, the people had become contented in the enjoyment of a fair degree of prosperity, marred only by the continuing threat of English invasion and Indian outbreaks. Stuyvesant from the beginning had laid particular stress on education, insisting that means be found "to provide education for every child in the colony." Now, besides a grammar school, two elementary free schools existed, one in the city proper and one at the Bowery Village beyond. Happily the Governor's troubles with the burghers were matters of the past; sharing adversity and times of danger had drawn both sides more closely together.

But, owing to neglect by both the States General and the Company — undoubtedly largely due to the straitened means of the latter —, scant military support or encouragement had been received. Notwithstanding his urgent pleas and warnings, the Governor had never been able with the limited resources at his disposal to put the city in an even reasonable state of defense.

Recently he had given plain warning that if no settlement with the English were made, he must be greatly reinforced; otherwise he must not be held responsible for what might come to pass. It was all to little avail; only a few more soldiers and a meager supply of ammunition came to him, and he was told not to worry.

The States General did, however, finally undertake to secure a ratification of the Hartford treaty, and instructed its emissaries to press for such ratification in the treaty of peace then being negotiated between England and Holland. Instead, pressing of the subject resulted only in hastening the English determination to take over New Netherland without further parley or waste of time, the King being advised that not more than three ships and three hundred soldiers would be required for the job, especially as the Long Island English would "come freely."

The end was truly near. In March, 1664, King Charles II made a secret grant to his brother James, Duke of York, of "Hudson's River and all land from the West side of the Connecticut River to the East side of De La Ware Bay," with part of Maine, and the islands of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Long Island, and 4,000 pounds to cover the cost of taking them over. The claims of Lord Sterling to the three islands (already described in our Mayhew story) had been bought up by Lord Clarendon, the Duke's father-in-law, on a promise to pay 3,500 pounds — said never to have been redeemed. In April, 1664, under orders from the Duke as Lord High Admiral of England, a fleet of three men-of-war with three companies of 450 well equipped veteran troops, under the command of a Colonel Richard Nicholls, sailed. It was given out that they were going to New England to attend to some matters there, but they had really been instructed to capture the Dutch possessions. Vigorous co-operation was to be demanded from the New Netherlanders, but the Dutch were to be given assurance of liberal treatment. All this occurred with the approval and authority of the King, as part of a general scheme to close the gap between the English possessions on the coast of North America.

On this side of the water, a convention from the various towns, meeting at the Stadt Huis, reproached the Company for failing to provide adequate protection against the impending storm. Stuyvesant, well knowing that the Long Island rebels alone were six to one against any force he could muster, told the delegates that he was leaving nothing undone to resist attack and that he was in fact doing all possible to strengthen the city defenses with the limited means at his disposal.

In June the Connecticut General Court, affirming that their new charter covered the Long Island towns, sent Winthrop down to Gravesend with a force of two hundred men, where Stuyvesant tried to get into touch with them. In July a rumor came that an English fleet had actually sailed from Boston. At the same time word arrived from Holland that this fleet had been sent for no other purpose than to "install bishops," and that Stuyvesant need not be alarmed. On such assurance Stuyvesant went up the river to Fort Orange in connection with some troubles with the Mohawk and Mohegan tribes. The English fleet did not in fact even reach Boston till early in August. But little time was then lost in preparing to sail for the real goal of its mission. Massachusetts, as well as Connecticut, had recruited and sent contingents to Long Island, Winthrop being there to receive them. Learning of this alarming situation, Stuyvesant hurried down from Fort Orange, stopping on the way to order down the soldiers stationed at Esopus. He arrived back at New Amsterdam on August 25.

On August 29 the English fleet, with transports carrying the main body of New Englanders, came to anchor in Gravesend Bay, blockaded the Narrows, and seized the blockhouse on Staten Island. The situation was indeed desperate, for New Amsterdam was quite incapable of successful defense against a well equipped invading force of any considerable size provided with cannon. The walls of the fort were in general but two or three feet thick, backed with gravel, and not over ten feet in height. It was closely hemmed in by the houses of the inhabitants and was commanded on the north by the hillocks through which ran the

Herre Weg (or Broadway). Manned by fewer than 150 soldiers, it mounted but twenty cannon and had but a scant supply of powder and ball at hand. Furthermore, the city, with its population recently increased by the arrival of several hundred negroes from the West Indies, was pitifully short of food, in no condition to stand a siege.

Stuyvesant sent a deputation down the bay to inquire the purpose of this hostile fleet. A letter from Nicholls, the English commander, was returned, demanding immediate surrender of the fort and city. On August 30, Stuyvesant having made the Nicholls letter public, the magistrates and officers decided that, though in the end there must be no resistance, the work on the defences must be continued, in the hope of getting better terms from the foe. On September 2 Winthrop came up to the city with another letter, composed by himself but endorsed by Nicholls, renewing the demand for surrender but offering the inhabitants privileges similar to those of His Majesty's subjects in other foreign parts, while making it plain that resistance would be utter folly. Winthrop personally entreated Stuyvesant to avoid useless bloodshed. The Governor, however, remained firm in his resolution to resist. The burgomasters and members of the Council then demanded of the Governor that he show them this last letter also. This he wrathfully refused, and he is said to have torn it up in a rage and thrown the pieces in their faces. But the great crowd now gathered in front of the Stadt Huis began calling loudly for the letter. Then the harassed Governor, finding himself alone in the resolve to resist, in fear of mutiny by even his own soldiers, reluctantly consented for the letter to be pieced together and its contents made known. Even after this, for two more days he held out. Nicholls finally set a peremptory forty-eight hours before he would open fire.

On September 4 the English regulars landed at Gravesend and marched overland to the ferry at Breuckellen, where the New Englanders were already gathered, prepared to cross. On the next day two of the frigates moved up the bay, anchoring between the fort and Governor's Island, with their guns, sixty or

more, all on one side trained on the fort. Stuyvesant sent part of his soldiers to the shore to repel a landing. He, it has been said, stood defiantly at an angle in the fort beside a gun, whose gunner, lighted match in hand, awaited the order to fire. Dominie Megalapolensis, standing by, begged the Governor to desist, saying, "'There is no help East, South or West. What will our twenty guns do in face of theirs?'" To which the Governor despairingly replied, "'I had rather be carried to my grave.'"¹² Finally, realizing the utter hopelessness of the situation, he sorrowfully moved away, and the white flag was raised.

The magistrates, hearing of Nicholls' last word, had sent the Governor an urgent petition to yield, signed by all the officials and leading burghers, by a director of the Company who happened to be there, indeed by his own young son, Balthazar. Reciting the hopelessness of the situation, "God help us whether we turn us for assistance to the North or to the South, to the East or to the West, 'tis all in vain, on all sides are we compassed and hemmed in by our enemies," they besought him not to reject so generous an offer "but to arrange an honorable and reasonable capitulation."¹³ Nicholls had consented that the city should be returned, if it were so agreed abroad. On September 6 delegates for both sides met at the Governor's Bouwerie house, a mile or so out of town, where terms of surrender of a liberal nature were agreed upon. These terms Stuyvesant accepted at the "mill by the ferry house." They included a provision that the garrison might march out with honors of war. The terms were announced to the people the next day, and on the following, "on this day (September 8) the town and fort were delivered accordingly." The garrison, with the Governor at its head (he was always so represented) marched out, with drums beating, colors flying, matches lighted. He then retired sorrowfully to

¹² Lamb, I, p. 213.

¹³ *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, Edited by Hugh Hastings, State Historian. Albany, 1901. "Remonstrance to Director General and Council for not surrendering," Vol. I, pp. 555-556.

the seclusion of his Bouwerie. A corporal's guard of the English entered the fort and hauled down the Dutch flag. Nicholls, it is said, then marched in with the body of his troops, the Royal Standard of England being raised. By proclamation the name of the city was changed to New York; the name of the fort, to Fort James. Thus, except for a brief interval a few years later, sadly ended the last vestige of Dutch rule in North America.

In the seventeen years of his authority Peter Stuyvesant had accomplished much for the New Netherland. Indeed, it may well be said that under Dutch rule, personified in Stuyvesant, the cornerstone on which was to rise the future metropolis of the western world had been solidly laid.

"The Dutch were the rulers of Manhattan for half a century, 1614-1664. The impress of their rule is yet evident and will never cease. Just as the Dutch exerted an influence which will never cease upon English civilization, so New York will never lose the influence of Dutch jurisprudence and religion upon her destinies. The fascinating story of New Amsterdam and Fort Orange will continue to be re-written for generations to come. Whatever England's pretensions to the territory, the Dutch actually discovered it and settled it and were finally cheated out of it. That the territory had been covered by several English charters amounted to nothing without actual occupation by the English, yet it was, no doubt, inevitable that with the decline of the West India Company, New Netherland should be lost to the Dutch. But the Dutch contributed not a small quota of principles which led on to American Independence."¹⁴

Nicholls, in his report, described the little city of New Amsterdam as "the fairest flower of His Majesty's possessions on this continent."

Stuyvesant, summoned to Holland to answer charges for his surrender, declined to be made the scapegoat for the unhappy event. In a dignified, convincing report to the States General he placed the blame where it belonged, on the West India Company, which had failed to support him adequately. That he received no censure from the government and was permitted to

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 560.

return to New Amsterdam, or New York, as it had now become, may be taken as his vindication. He stayed on in Holland for several years, during which he succeeded in accomplishing for his former charge the valuable service of negotiating freedom of trade between New York and Holland.

It may be said that no colonial governor was confronted with more, or indeed as, serious and difficult problems as fell to Stuyvesant's lot. They called for unusual courage, nerve and sagacity. Compelled constantly to spar with and hold off a powerful hostile neighbor backed up by a strong home government, with kinsmen of that neighbor having already secured a foothold in his own territory, practically unsupported by either the States General or the Company, he was left in the end to cope with actual invasion by a force greatly superior to his own in men and armament. Continually at odds with his propertied class, who resented what they deemed his arbitrary and unjustified exercise of authority, he sturdily maintained that his main duty was to produce concrete results for the commercial company which had put him there and to which he was primarily responsible. To that duty he too narrowly and stubbornly subordinated all other considerations. Always under the threat of murderous atrocities from numerous, treacherous and crafty foes, he dealt firmly and wisely with them, never hesitating to apply the strong hand when necessary.

He endured burdens that would have overwhelmed a weaker man and that had proved too great for his predecessors. Not the least of his perplexities was the course he had to steer between the Company which had employed him and the Government which had commissioned him, for he believed, maybe mistakenly, that his first allegiance was to the former. As to the burghers' demand for a greater share in the government, it must be borne in mind that the representative principle in government had not at that time become as firmly established as later, with a people so recently emancipated from the heavy hand of Spain. Again, it was not unnatural that his course, unnecessarily arbitrary as it undoubtedly was in many ways, should have been influenced by

his military training and soldier's intuitive contempt of civilian rule. Mistakes in plenty he may have made, but on the whole he performed his duty faithfully and fulfilled his trust according to the light as God gave him to see it.

In Holland his name is much respected and honored. In the capital city of The Hague, a square is named for him. Queen Wilhelmina, in testimony of the honor she felt his due, in 1915 presented to the city of New York the bronze bust of Stuyvesant that adorns the portico of old St. Mark's Church in the Bouwerie. In 1939, during our World's Fair, Holland issued a special postage stamp bearing his features and his name. His career is prominently treated in the authoritative Netherland Biographical Dictionary. A coat of arms was officially bestowed upon him, the record of which may be found in the Royal College of Heralds at The Hague. Its heraldic description is as follows:

Arms: per fess or the gules: in chief a hound following a hare: in base, a stag courant, all proper and contourne.

Crest: out of a prince's coronet or a denin stag salient and contourne proper.

Motto: Jove Praestat foederi quam homines.

His name has ever been held in great honor and esteem in New York. A square in the metropolis is named in his honor. Organizations without number, civic, business, philanthropic and otherwise, in the great city and elsewhere in the State bear his name in their titles.

In 1668 Stuyvesant returned to the land he had tried so well to serve and had come so much to love, passing the remaining four years of his life at his Bowery house, a mile or so north of the city. There he died in February, 1672. His earthly remains were lowered to final rest in the vault under the private chapel he had built for family use, within a few yards of his own dwelling. He is said after his return from Holland to have kept entirely aloof from public matters except as they might concern city improvements, and to have interested himself greatly in church affairs. "He grew sociable and companionable, frequently dined his English successor at his country seat and rendered him-

self very dear to his family and intimate friends. He gave one the impression of fine, rich fruit, not tempting to external show, but sound and sweet to the core.”¹⁵

His wife, Judith Bayard Stuyvesant, survived till 1686. By his Will, dated January 16, 1671, he left her all “whatsoever.” She has been described as a woman of forceful character and superior cultivation, who had some knowledge of various languages and of music and was well known for her wide hospitality. She was not a mere lady of fashion, but was endowed with forceful traits of character, possessed a talent for business, and personally superintended the education of her sons.

Since your grandmother named her place on Milton Point, here in Rye, “The Bouwerie”, you may want to learn something of the Governor’s *bouwerie*, or farm, for which it was named. The Dutch word for farm is *bouerig*. On May 12, 1651, Stuyvesant bought from the Company a large property which included a dwelling house with several attendant buildings, and a good deal of land as well as live property such as six cows, a pair of horses and two negroes. The sum paid for the whole was 6400 guilders. The tract of land, comprising approximately eighty acres, ran from about the East River and what is now First Street to the Bowery (the English name for the original road or lane leading from the city to the Governor’s country place). It then continued along the Bowery as it becomes Third and Fourth Avenues, to 17th Street, then to the River and down the River to First Street again. By further purchases over a period of fifteen years he finally acquired a domain running from about First Street to the Bowery, then north along the Bowery and Third Avenue to 9th Street; then along Fourth Avenue to 14th Street and diagonally across Union Square to Broadway, following Broadway to about 25th Street; the northern boundary formed an arc reaching 30th Street at Fourth Avenue and curving back to 25th Street and the East River, thence following the river to First Street again, in all about 550 acres.¹⁸

¹⁵Lamb, Vol. I, p. 216.

¹⁸ Fish, Pamphlet No. 22, p. 31.

The first purchase the Governor reserved for his own use, the house being occupied as the main family residence. It is said to have been of wood, two stories high, the second projecting, with a formal garden in front laid out in Dutch fashion. Its site occupied a portion of the present churchyard of St. Mark's and extended over to what is now the north side of 10th Street. It was destroyed October 24, 1778, by fire coming from a nearby ash house.

"Saturday morning last (October 24, 1778) about two o'clock, the old mansion belonging to Mr. Nicholas Stuyvesant, in the Bowery, took fire, and was burnt to the ground with part of the furniture therein contained. The above fire is said to be occasioned by means of the ash house being near the dwelling. Nothing could be more polite and humane than the conduct of Colonel Munichausen of the Hessians, at the fire at Mr. Stuyvesant's house; he not only ordered a guard for the protection of property rescued from the flames, but attended in person, with several of his officers, a great part of the night; and when he retired, left the guard entirely at the direction of the family interested, until all the effects were moved and secured."¹⁹

The "Nicholas" referred to was the eldest son of Gerardus Stuyvesant, who had occupied the house till the time of his death on September 18th, 1777, less than a year before the fire, and had by his Will left the property to his son, Nicholas William, who died, unmarried, on September 28, 1780. This contemporary account of the destruction of the Governor's Bowery House is probably more authentic than others saying that it was burned by British soldiers in 1777.²⁰

In about 1660 the Governor built the chapel for family worship and the accommodation both of his negro slaves, of whom there were about forty, and of the people living in the little

¹⁹ *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New-York*, 1862, D. T. Valentine, ed. New York, 1862-63, p. 657. Source not identified except as "newspaper account."

²⁰ Winthrop, Benjamin Robert, "Old New York," *Valentine's Manual* 1862, p. 689.

settlement.²¹ His widow, to whom he had willed his entire property, by her own Will left this chapel to the Dutch Church in New York to dispose of as seemed fit, provided the vault was preserved.²² The Church, however, failed to accept it or to assume responsibility for its care, so that it fell into disuse except for the vault beneath. In 1793 Petrus Stuyvesant, great-grandson of the Governor, offered this chapel, or what was left of it, with a sum of money and a suitable portion of land, to Trinity Church for the erection of another church or chapel. He stipulated that the vault should remain as it was and always had been, under the new structure to be erected on the site of the chapel. Trinity Church accepted, providing the additional money required. The cornerstone was laid in 1795, and the new church, under the name of St. Mark's Church-in-the-Bouwerie was consecrated in 1799 as an independent parish.²³ Already, at the consecration of St. Mark's, the mortal remains of three generations of Stuyvesants had been committed to its keeping. Since then, four more of those in the direct line have been added.

I recall being a small boy in 1871 when the body of my grandfather, Nicholas William Stuyvesant, was lowered into the vault, and later those of my three uncles; Nicholas William in 1883, Robert in 1911, and Henry in 1919. In 1899 I attended the Centennial Anniversary service commemorating the consecration of St. Mark's, an impressive sermon being preached by the great Rector of old Trinity, Dr. Morgan Dix. Again, in 1915 I there attended the ceremonies incidental to the presentation to the City of New York of the bronze bust of the Governor, gift of good Queen Wilhelmina of Holland.

²¹ Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, Vol. I, p. 489.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 934.

²³ For the account of the chapel and the establishment of St. Mark's, see excellent articles by William Rhinelander Stewart, *History of Grace Church*, 1936, and by Morgan Dix, *The History of Trinity Church*.

Today there survives but one descendant of the Governor, born a Stuyvesant in the true line, entitled to interment in that vault, Augustus Van Horne Stuyvesant. Since he is fairly well on in years and has never married, when his time comes to be laid to his final rest under old St. Mark's, the vault stone inscribed, "Petrus Stuyvesant, Governor and Captain General, etc." in all probability will not again be disturbed.

The Governor had another house which he had built for himself in the city proper. It stood at what would now be the foot of Whitehall Street. It is referred to, and the circumstances under which the lot on which it stood was acquired by him, in an article by "D.T.V." in *Valentine's Manual* for 1862. "It may be mentioned that the most notable improvement to the present Battery was the erection of a private residence by Governor Stuyvesant in the year 1658. This was designed for his private residence, and was considered in its time as the principle effort made by private enterprise towards beautifying the city." Apparently, however, it had been built prior to that year, for the Dutch records show that on February 14, 1658 Petrus Stuyvesant addressed a petition "To the Right Honorable Lord Councillors of N. Netherland and the W. Burgomasters of the City Amsterdam therein" for confirmation of title to certain abandoned lots which the petitioner, "'as your Honors are aware, has fenced, dammed and raised up, at great cost and labor, out of the water and swamp . . . on which lot now that about eight or nine thousand loads of sand are ridden (and even that is not enough), the petitioner has erected an expensive and handsome building.'"²⁴ To this the Burgomasters responded: "'Whereas the Director General and Council have been pleased to grant the city all vacant and unused lots, and the Heer General has ornamented the place described with a handsome building, we cannot refuse it, but approve and laud it.'"²⁴

Stuyvesant had built the house for his own use in town, a fairly impressive structure of hewn stone, to replace the Gover-

²⁴ Valentine's Manual, 1862, p. 501.

nor's house in the Fort, which had grown rusty and out of repair.²⁵ It stood near the southeast angle of the Fort, fronting the shore. The ground was finely laid out and planted. A commodius slip, or enclosed waterway, ran along the north or east side for the accommodation of the Governor's barge and other water craft.²⁶ It served as the official residence of Governor Stuyvesant till the English took over in 1664, and was thereafter the residence of succeeding English Governors well into the next century. It came to be known by the English, not unnaturally, as "Whitehall." Hence the name of the present street. It would be interesting to know whether Stuyvesant or his estate was recompensed by the English for this property which had been his own.

Within the memory of those still living, there stood at the northeast corner of 13th Street and Third Avenue, an ancient pear tree surrounded by an iron railing, known as the Stuyvesant Pear Tree. It was the last survivor of trees brought back from Holland and planted into an orchard by the Governor on his "bouwerie" after his return from Holland in 1668. Philip Hone mentions it thus interestingly in his Diary:

"1838, June 15. A great curiosity is to be seen in the Third Avenue at the corner of 13th Street,—a fine, healthy, patriarchal pear tree, which annually bears leaves and blossoms and would produce fruit if boys would let it. This tree was formerly one of the trees in the orchard of Governor Stuyvesant, a great distance from New York, now in the midst of a large city population. Grave essays have been written on its longevity and poetry has sung its praises. This tree was the subject of conversation of Mr. [Peter Gerard] Stuyvesant's table today. There is no doubt of the fact, I believe, which I now record, that it was brought out from Holland by Governor Stuyvesant, and planted with his own hands on the spot where it stands.²⁷

²⁵ Lamb, I, p. 187.

²⁶ See illustration in *Valentine's Manual*, 1862, p. 500.

²⁷ Hone, Philip, *Dairy*, New York, 1839. Vol. I.

The famous old tree was bearing fruit as late as 1861 according to *Valentine's Manual* for 1862. The manner in which it finally met its end is not certain. I have always understood that it was blown down by a storm in 1867. While Mary L. Booth, a contemporary historian, credits a storm for its overthrow, the Hewitts, Edward Ringwood and Mary Ashley, believe that it was struck by a loaded wagon, to which Stuyvesant Fish adds that the wagon was a brewery wagon the driver of which was drunk. James Grant Wilson states that age itself was responsible for the death of the tree. All the authorities agree that it disappeared in 1867.

I have myself several pieces of the wood from this old Stuyvesant pear tree. On the Wey place on Kirby Lane here in Rye, land originally belonging to my grandfather, Nicholas William Stuyvesant, my grandfather planted part of the root of the tree. The tree which developed from it is said still to blossom in spring. Cuttings from the latter have been successfully grafted into pear trees on our place on Milton Point.

THE DESCENDANTS OF PETER STUYVESANT

The Governor was survived by two sons, his only children, Balthazar Lazarus and Nicholas William.

1. Balthazar Lazarus, born in New Amsterdam and baptized on October 13, 1647, was named for both his grandfathers, the Reverend Balthazar Stuyvesant and the Reverend Lazare Bayard. Late in 1664 he removed to a plantation which his father had given him in Curacao. There he married, two daughters being born of that marriage. He later removed to St. Thomas, W. I., where he died on January 29, 1678, without male issue.

2. *Nicholas William*, born in New Amsterdam and baptized on December 22, 1648, was named for his maternal great-grandfather, the Reverend Nicholas Bayard, father of the Rever-

Note — I am using two asterisks to indicate the direct line from Peter Stuyvesant to my grandfather Nicholas William Stuyvesant.

end Lazare Bayard. Nicholas William married on May 12, 1678, Maria Beekman, a daughter of William Beekman.²⁸

By this marriage he had one son and two daughters, but all died young, unmarried. Second, he married on September 15, 1681, Elizabeth Van Schlectenhorst, a daughter of Gerrit Van Schlectenhorst. Through his mother he inherited the Governor's lands and other property, occupied the Bowery House, and took a prominent part in public affairs. He was a Captain of Militia in 1684. In 1689 he was a captain in the company of his cousin, Colonel Nicholas Bayard, when, during the uncertainty incident to the abdication of James II and the accession of William and Mary, Jacob Leisler usurped the government of the province. Later, Nicholas William resigned his commission. His name appears on addresses to the King in 1687, 1688 and 1690. His Will is dated August 13, 1698. His second wife died on April 20, 1738.

By his second wife, Elizabeth Van Schlectenhorst, Nicholas William had five children:

1. Petrus, baptized December 26, 1683; died in infancy.
2. Petrus, baptized March 21, 1685; died December 11, 1705. He married and had one son, Benoni, who was declared illegitimate, since his father's marriage was unlawful under Dutch law.
3. Elizabeth, baptized March 13, 1687; died young.
4. Ann, baptized April 17, 1689; died in 1759. She married the Reverend Thomas Pritchard, one of the early rectors of Christ's Church (then Grace Church), here at Rye. She died without issue.
5. *Gerardus*, baptized October 25, 1691; died September 18, 1777. He was a man of superior education and culture who gave much attention to public affairs, serving as a City Magistrate for thirty years. He was alderman for the Out Ward in 1722 and 1755, and Deputy Mayor in 1735, 1736 and 1747.

²⁸ See Beekman.

He was listed as a captain of Militia in 1738. Contemporary publications mention him as one of the city's honored citizens. On March 5, 1722, he married his second cousin, Judith Bayard, the youngest daughter of Balthazar Bayard and his wife, Maria Lockermans. She died on October 5, 1751, and Gerardus himself died on September 18, 1777. By his father's Will he had inherited the Bouwerie and other lands of his grandfather, the Governor. The Bouwerie, which was his residence till death, Gerardus willed to his eldest son, Nicholas William, who did not marry.

Gerardus and Judith Bayard Stuyvesant had four children:

1. Nicholas William, born October 10, 1722; died unmarried September 28, 1780. He was a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1760 to 1773.
2. Petrus, born June 6, 1724; died young.
3. Gerardus, born July 6, 1726; died young.
4. *Petrus*, born October 13, 1727; died August 31, 1805.

These events Gerardus recorded in his family Bible in the following manner:

1722, is Gretout Gerardus Stuyvesant with Judith Bayard.

Den 5 Marte

1751, Oktober Den 5 is myn huysfrou in Den here gerust Judith Stuyvesant.

1722, Den 10 Oktober is Geboren uns erste soon Nicholas Willie Stuyvesant.

1724, Juni Den 6, is Geboren myn thwede son Petrus Stuyvesant

1726, is Geboren Myn Derde son Gerardus Stuyvesant

1727, Den 13 Oktobr. Geboren en onse vierde Son Petrus Stuyvesant.

This same Petrus Stuyvesant wrote in the Bible the following note: "In the year of our Lord 1748 I began to write my name

Petrus Stuyvesant. Formerly I wrote Peter Stuyvesant but being persuaded of my father and some others to write it Petrus Stuyvesant, N. Y. July 17, 1748. Memorandum — Petrus Stuyvesant."

This Petrus Stuyvesant, our ancestor, inherited his father's fortune, including most of the Governor's original domain. He is said to have been a man of modest tastes, who occupied a high social position and employed much of his wealth for benevolent purposes. He was a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1793 to 1799, and gave the land and part of the money to build St. Mark's Church in the Bowery. In 1754 he was one of the founders of the Society Libra, the oldest circulating library in the city. During the French War he was a captain, and in 1777 he was a Commissioner of the Poor. On October 17, 1764, he married Margaret Livingston, who was born at Esopus (Kingston) June 20, 1768, and who died in New York City on June 6, 1818. Through her father and mother she was descended from Robert Livingston, first Lord of the Manor, and from the William Beekman who had accompanied Governor Stuyvesant to New Amsterdam.²⁹

By his Will, Petrus divided the Stuyvesant lands into two tracts or farms, the dividing line being Stuyvesant Street as originally projected to run from the Bowery Lane to the East River (of which only the westerly end, between Second and Third Avenues still remains, on which St. Mark's Church fronts). The southerly of the two farms, called the Bowery, or Homestead Farm, he devised to his elder son, *Nicholas William*, my great-grandfather. It was bound on the north by Stuyvesant Street; on the east, by the river; on the south, by First Street; and on the west, by the Bowery and Third Avenue. The house, said to have been built by Petrus Stuyvesant in about 1765 and also called the "Bowery House," stood at what would now be at about the north side of Eighth Street near First Avenue, with a straight driveway running for almost a mile to the Bowery.³⁰ I have a

²⁹ See Index.

³⁰ See map of Old New York, *Valentine's Manual*, 1862, p. 686.

contemporary water color of the house and grounds, depicting an impressive white mansion, large red barn, fine trees and luxuriant shrubbery. There my great-grandfather, Nicholas William lived till his death in 1833, and there his son, my grandfather, Nicholas William, was born in 1803. It was torn down after the death of the first Nicholas William in 1833 to make way for the expanding city.

The northerly farm, called Petersfield, was willed to the younger of the two sons of Petrus, Peter Gerard. Its house stood at what would be about the middle of the present city block bounded by First Avenue, Fifteenth Street, Avenue A, and Sixteenth Street; its winding driveway of a mile or more led to Second Avenue.³¹

As the city developed, Peter Gerardus later built and occupied till his death in 1847 a fine town house at the northwest corner of Eleventh Street and Second Avenue, in what had by then become the Court end of the town.

Petrus Stuyvesant and Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant had eleven children, of whom the following six reached maturity:

I. Judith, born December 25, 1765; died March 7, 1844. On June 19, 1795 she married Benjamin Winthrop, who died on January 9, 1844. Among their children were:

1. Eliza Sheriff, who married William Chanler; hence our relationship with the Chanlers and the Rutherfords.
2. Benjamin Robert, grandparent of cousins and friends of my earlier days, Edgerton Leigh and Bronson Winthrop.

II. Cornelia, who married Dirk Ten Broeck of Albany. They had numerous descendants.

III. *Nicholas William*, my great-grandfather, born 1769; died at his Bowery House March 11, 1833. He married Catherine Livingston Reade.

³¹ Map, Valentine's Manual for 1862, p. 686.

IV. Margaret Ann, died unmarried in 1824.

V. Elizabeth, born February 11, 1775; died September 6, 1854. On August 30, 1803, she married Colonel Nicholas Fish, a distinguished soldier in the Revolution and an aide to General Washington. Their children were:

1. Susan Elizabeth, born July 25, 1805; died September 6, 1854. On November 2, 1826, she married Daniel Le-Roy, who died on August 19, 1885. They had numerous descendants.
2. Margaret Ann, born February 11, 1807; died March 23, 1877. Married December 5, 1826, John Neilson, Jr., who died September 22, 1851. Grandparents of my friend and law partner, Herbert Barry, and of Margaret Armstrong, the writer.
3. Hamilton, born August 3, 1805; died September 7, 1893. Married Julia Ursin Niemcewilz Kean, who died June 30, 1887. Hamilton Fish was an eminent statesman, Member of Congress, Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of the State of New York, United States Senator from New York, Secretary of State (1869-1877) of the United States in the Cabinet of President Grant; President of the Board of Trustees of Columbia College, from which he graduated in 1827. Inherited under the Will of his uncle, Peter Gerardus Stuyvesant, a large portion of the estate of the latter.
 - a. A son, Nicholas, born February 19, 1846; died September 16, 1902. Graduated Columbia College 1867; married Clemence S. Bryce. Their son, Hamilton, stroked a winning Columbia crew at Poughkeepsie; Sergeant in the 1st U.S. Cavalry (Roosevelt's Rough Riders); killed in action at the battle of Las Guasimos, near Santiago, Cuba, in the Spanish American War.
 - b. Another son, Hamilton, born April 17, 1849. Married, first, Emily Mann; second, Florence Amsench.

Graduated Columbia, 1869. A Member of Assembly from Putnam County; Members of Congress from the Dutchess, Orange, Putnam district; Treasurer of the United States in New York City. His son, Hamilton, Harvard 1908, was Member of Assembly from Putnam, and has now (1944) been for many years Member of Congress from the same district as his father.

- c. Another son, Stuyvesant, born June 24, 1851; died April 10, 1923. Columbia, 1871. Married Marian Graves Anthon. President of the Illinois Central Railroad. His son, Stuyvesant, Yale 1905, author of the pamphlet *Peter Stuyvesant*, so often used as a source for this history, is my good friend and cousin, who has been of much help to me in the preparation of these pages.
- d. A daughter, Sarah Morris, married Sidney Webster, a distinguished scholar and diplomat. Parents of the friend from my early days, Hamilton Fish Webster, deceased.

4. Elizabeth Sarah, born May 25, 1810; died March 28, 1881. Married October 15, 1829, to Richard Lewis Morris, who died June 14, 1880. Whence, our Morris relationships.
5. Petrus, born May 13, 1813; died unmarried November 1, 1834. Naval officer.

VI. Peter Gerard, born in New York 1778; died without issue at Niagara Falls, N. Y., August 16, 1847. He was graduated from Columbia College in 1794, was admitted to the Bar and practiced law. He was one of the founders, and the first president, of the St. Nicholas Society (1835-1836). He was also a founder, and later President (1836-1846) of the New York Historical Society. He gave Stuyvesant Square to the city. He married, first, Susan Barclay, daughter of Colonel Thomas Barclay; and second, Helen Sarah Rutherford, daughter of the Honorable John Rutherford of New Jersey, who survived him. By his Will be divided the

bulk of his estate between his nephew, Hamilton Fish (son of his sister Elizabeth), his nephew, Gerardus Stuyvesant (son of his brother, Nicholas William), and Stuyvesant Rutherford (son of his great-niece and ward, Margaret Chanler, wife of Lewis B. Rutherford). The last-named heir, Stuyvesant Rutherford, inherited on condition that his name should be changed to Rutherford Stuyvesant, which was accomplished by act of the Legislature. His widow received the house and its contents, along with an annuity of \$12,000; the residue of the estate being divided among his other nephews and nieces, an estimated \$100,000 apiece. Philip Hone in his diary for August 18, 1847, quaintly reflects "How much this man's son lost by never having been born!"

My own great-grandfather, Nicholas William Stuyvesant, elder brother of this Peter Gerard, was possessed of ample means for those days, and devoted himself principally, as did his father, to philanthropic and religious affairs. His wife, Catherine Livingston Reade, born on January 12, 1777, was the daughter of John Reade of Poughkeepsie and of Catherine Livingston. Her Livingston great-grandfather, Gilbert, was her husband's grandfather, so that actually the two were cousins, though of a different generation.

Her father, John Reade (born 1745; died 1808), after whom Red Hook (Reade Hoeck) in Dutchess County is said to have been named, was the son of Joseph Reade (born 1694); died March 3, 1771). He married Ann French, daughter of Philip French and Anna Philipse. Joseph was the son of Lawrence Reade, born and married in England, who came to New York in the late Seventeenth Century, where he was a vestryman of Trinity Church in 1697 and 1709. He is said to have been descended from a line of aristocratic British ancestors.³²

Nicholas William Stuyvesant and Catherine Livingston Reade, my great grandparents, had nine children:

A. John Reade, born 1792; died December 6, 1853. Married first, Catherine Ackerly, who died without issue. Married second,

³² Lamb, Vol. II, note, pp. 209-210.

1840, Mary Austin Yates, who died in 1889. Children of the second marriage were four:

1. Helen Mary Hooker, married May 23, 1867, Robert Sanford of Poughkeepsie.
2. Catherine Livingston; died May 24, 1891. Married April 9, 1874, Francis R. Butler.
3. John Reade, born March 10, 1850; died June 25, 1904. Married Jane Ten Eyck Kendall.
4. Ann Elizabeth.

B. Peter, born 1796; died November 15, 1860. Married November 8, 1828, Julia Martin, who died February 14, 1883, leaving five children:

1. Julia Helen, married May 18, 1862, Rudolph C. Winterhoff. They had one child:
 - a. Julia Stuyvesant Winterhoff, born August 24, 1867; died unmarried some years ago.
2. Katherine Reade, "Cousin Kate Neill" of my generation, of Newport, R. I. Married February 4, 1863, Colonel Edward M. Neill, an officer in the Union Army in the Civil War. They had two children:
 - a. Anna DeLancey Neill. Married first Walter N. Eldridge, deceased; married second, Edmund Grinell, living in Newport, R. I.
 - b. Catherine Livingston Neill. Married a cousin of the same surname, a British subject.
3. Robert Van Rensselaer. Never married. A modest, cultivated gentleman, who gave the Stuyvesant portraits to the New York Historical Society.
4. Rosalie. Married December 7, 1869, Aristide Pillot. They had a son:
 - a. Stuyvesant Pillot, born November 11, 1870; died not so long ago. Graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. Fellow officer with me in the Twelfth Regiment, New York Volunteers, in the war with Spain.

In the banking business in New York. Married twice; left three daughters:

1. Dorothy Prewitt
2. Rosalie Stuyvesant
3. Gertrude

5. Gertrude, now deceased. Married December 13, 1873, a distinguished officer of the Navy, the late Rear Admiral Raymond Perry Rodgers, of that well known naval family. They had a daughter:

- a. Julie, born September 20, 1874. Unmarried.

C. Catherine Ann; died December 14, 1872. Married June 8, 1826, John Mortimer Catlin. They had five children:

1. Lynde, married Susan Ross.
2. Nicholas William Stuyvesant, did not marry.
3. Charles Mortimer, married Kate Montagu.
4. Catherine Livingston.
5. Cora Catlin.

D. *Nicholas William*, my grandfather, born May 12, 1803; died February 4, 1871.

E. Gerard, born March 4, 1806; died January 18, 1859. Married Susan Rivington Van Horne, November 24, 1836. They had two children:

1. Robert Reade, born September 16, 1838; died March 30, 1906. Married Amelia, daughter of Frederick and Anna (Remsen) Schuchardt. They had two children:
 - a. Gerard, born 1850; died June 21, 1921. Married Mildred N. Floyd of Louisville.
 - b. Frederick Schuchardt, born 1861; died November 27, 1898. Married, 1883, Cornelia Van Bergen.
2. Augustus Van Horne. Married September 12, 1864, Harriet LeRoy Stewart. They had three children:
 - a. Catherine E.
 - b. Augustus Van Horne.
 - c. Anne White.

F. Margaret Livingston, died July 17, 1845. Married Febru-

ary 1, 1835, Robert Van Rensselaer, son of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer of Utica. No issue.

G. Helen Cornelia, died October 24, 1890. Married first, May 25, 1841, Henry Dudley; married second, Francis Olmsted; married third, November 25, 1851, William Starbrick Mayo. She had by her first marriage a son:

1. Henry Dudley, who married Anna Fellows. They had four children:
 - a. Helen Stuyvesant, married Dwight Braman.
 - b. Henry Stuyvesant.
 - c. Laura F.
 - d. Fannie G.

H. Joseph Reade, died March 13, 1873. Married Jane Ann Browning. One son:

1. Nicholas William, died October, 1876.

I. Robert Reade, died January 14, 1834. Married August 1, 1833, Margaret Augusta Middleberger. No issue.

My grandfather, Nicholas William Stuyvesant, the fourth child in the above list of the children of Nicholas William Stuyvesant and Catherine Livingston Reade, was born at his father's "Bowery House." He attended schools in the city, but did not go to college. On August 14, 1826 he married Augusta Content Chesebrough, the daughter of Robert Chesebrough of New York City. He never engaged in trade or business. Though but six years old at the time of his death, I well remember him as a kindly gentleman of sturdy frame and fine presence, full of humor, and companionable and sympathetic with us boys, who enjoyed his society hugely. It is said that, though gentle and sociably inclined, he was not slow to wrath when justly aroused. I still recall one particular occasion when he was with us on the family tour to Europe in 1869-1870. On the steamer, when the eldest of us came running to him with the tale that another boy had applied to him the ugly word impugning his veracity, Grandfather inquired, "Did you lick him?" Informed to the contrary, he brandished his cane and admonished, "Well, go back and

lick him, or I'll lick you!" On this, my elder brother returned to the encounter, with what result I fail to recall.

Grandfather died on February 4, 1871, at the house we then occupied on 19 West Thirty-Third Street in the city. He is said to have been a true Christian with an abiding faith. I recall him in his last illness, propped by pillows and consoled by the text from a large-lettered "Holy Comforter" facing him from the foot of the bed. His house, overlooking the Kirby Mill Pond here in Rye, was burned down shortly after the Civil War. He then bought, and lived in summer, in the old Budd house in Milton, where the Milton Fire House now stands, but he did not live to occupy the house across the road from ours on the Point, which my father built for him.

Grandmother Stuyvesant survived till the summer of 1876. She died at Uncle Henry Stuyvesant's house at 21 West Thirty-third Street. She is said to have been very beautiful in her younger days. She lives in my memory still as a lovely, gentle soul.

Grandfather and Grandmother had six children:

1. Catherine Chesebrough, born August 8, 1827; died November 21, 1829.
2. Caroline Augusta, born January 20, 1832; died April 1, 1857. Married April 18, 1854, Benjamin Augustus Onderdonk.
3. Nicholas William, born July 28, 1829; killed while walking on the New Haven Railroad tracks near Port Chester, August 30, 1873. Understood never to have married.
4. Robert, born October 21, 1835; died in 1911. Married Frances Gibson. No issue. In business in Wall Street in earlier life; lived his later years as a retired courtly gentleman, much of the old school.
5. Henry, born September 3, 1837; died in Rye in September, 1919. Married first, 1863, Caroline Hoppock; issue three children, who died young. Married second, 1899, Kate Marion Sproull. He was for a time in Wall Street, and during the Civil War he served at sea as an officer in the Union Navy.

6. *Margaret Livingston*, my mother, born July 30, 1839; died March 4, 1928.

Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant was born at 168 Tenth Street, New York City, and was named for her great-grandmother. She spent her early years and girlhood in the city, where she attended select private schools, learning to speak French fluently. She was of decidedly attractive appearance, as witness the portrait hanging in our dining room, painted the year of her marriage. On April 25, 1861, she was married at St. George's Church in Stuyvesant Square, by the Reverend Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., to my father, John Howard Wainwright.

Her youthful bearing, good looks and trim figure, were maintained till the end of her days. She was always "well-dressed," walked and comported herself with an air of distinction, never grew old, nor forgot she was "a Stuyvesant." She was of a strong personality, sure of herself and decided in her ways. Possessing a firm sense of duty and morality, an innately strong religious sense with unquestioning faith, she was scrupulously regular in her attendance at church and saw to it that her boys, while still under her authority, did the same. There was no sham about my dear mother, nor could she abide that failing in others. Widowed at a comparatively early age, for she was only thirty-one when my father died, she diligently fulfilled the responsibility of bringing up and seeing to the education of four husky and rather strenuous boys. Her authority over them brooked no denial or question, persisting quite unmodified till she left us at the advanced age of eighty-nine, survived by three of her "boys," as to her we always remained.

Her trips to Europe were innumerable, the first being on her honeymoon. She entirely lost count of her crossings,— perhaps over fifty,—, though she claimed a greater number. During early years and till middle life she enjoyed abundant health and vigor. Her health and strength remained unimpaired until the inevitable approach of life's journey's end, on which she slipped away easily and without apparent distress. Even after passing the four score mark, she insisted on making at least two trips

abroad by herself, unattended, claiming that to take a maid or a traveling companion would inevitably cast on herself the burden of responsibility for two instead of one. Until the latter part of her life she passed her winters in the city and the summers at Rye, but later she lived entirely in Rye. She died in her house in Loudon Woods in Rye.

In 1880 she married a second time, in London. Her husband was the Honorable William H. Catlin of Rye, born in New Haven, Connecticut, in November 1845. He died at Albany, New York, on October 6, 1911.

The name Stuyvesant in the true, direct line must soon become extinct. Here in New York it has run an honorable course of well nigh three hundred years. It stands high among those of illustrious New York families. Its prestige rests mainly on the fame of the renowned last Dutch Governor; yet descendants in each generation have well maintained its creditable standing. Though allied by marriage with other important Colonial families, the Stuyvesants do not appear to have mingled much in the provincial social life, possibly due to the fact that they lived somewhat far out of town, or possibly due to their natural conservatism and inclination to aloofness. So it has been to a large degree in more recent times; yet in each generation they have been distinguished, as fairly ample means permitted, for philanthropy and interest in religious and educational matters.

In colonial days they appear not to have been affiliated closely with the dominant English element, but rather to have led lives apart, retaining Dutch customs and characteristics and probably considering themselves more Dutch than English. Indeed, I have always understood that in the household of my great-grandfather, Nicholas William Stuyvesant, Dutch rather than English was the familiar language. The Stuyvesants appear to have espoused neither side in the Revolution, possibly because the issue was to them a purely English affair with which they need not be concerned. Yet the Stuyvesant name is indelibly impressed upon the early, if not the later, history of New York.

To have the right to call one's self a lineal descendant of Stuyvesant, or his contemporaries, is still a patent of nobility in the mighty union of our days.

(Translation, Netherlands Biographical Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 1191)

BAYARD

The wife of Governor Stuyvesant, as you will recall, was Judith Bayard. Their marriage took place in the French Protestant Church at Breda in Holland, August 6, 1645. She was the daughter of the Reverend Lazare Bayard, then deceased, former minister of the church mentioned.

The father of the Reverend Lazare Bayard was a Reverend Nicholas Bayard, descended, it is said, from an uncle of the famous French soldier and perfect knight, the Chevalier Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche*.

The Reverend Nicholas Bayard was at one time a professor at the Sorbonne in Paris. Being a Huguenot, he fled from France to England to escape the Huguenot persecution. In England he became pastor of a Protestant Church at Norwich connected with the so-called Church of the "Olive," said to have been a group of Huguenot Churches in England and Holland under a Board of Supervisors or a Bishop. Removing to Holland, Nicholas became enrolled among the Walloon Protestant clergy. In 1591 he became pastor of a church in Antwerp, and later, 1594-1613, of one at Ziericksee, where his son Lazarus assisted him in the ministry. He died at Ziericksee in 1617.

The Reverend Lazare Bayard was educated in the University at Leyden. He too belonged to the so-called Church of the "Olive." He was minister of the Breda Church during the siege of that place in 1607. In 1632 he took over the French Church in Amsterdam, but returned to the Breda Church in 1637, where he died in 1643. In Ziericksee he had married Catherine de Vos, said to have been of a patrician family in Guelderland.

They had two children, Judith, who married Peter Stuyvesant, and Samuel, who married Anne, the sister of Peter Stuyvesant. Judith was baptized in the Breda Church on November 16, 1608; and Samuel, in the same Church, in 1609. He died in about 1651 or 1652.

After the death of Samuel, Anna Stuyvesant Bayard, in 1652 or 1653, came with her three sons, Peter, Nicholas and Balthazar,

to the New Netherland, where her brother, Peter Stuyvesant had become Director-General.¹ She settled in New Amsterdam, where in 1656 she had a grant of a lot of land on which to build. She has been described as "Tall, commanding, and imperious." Herself Dutch and a Stuyvesant, one may well believe, as it is related, that she was broadly and highly educated, well able, when obliged to dismiss as incompetent or unworthy the tutor whom she had brought over for her children, to undertake herself their instruction in many branches of practical education, including the English and French languages. How well she fulfilled that part may be judged from the fact that in 1664, while he was still a mere lad, her son, Nicholas, was appointed by Colonel Nicholls, the first English Governor, to the responsible position of secretary or clerk to the Common Council, records of which were required to be translated from the Dutch into English.²

Of the three sons of Samuel Bayard and his wife, Anna, the eldest, Petrus, was born in about 1640, and died in 1699. On November 4, 1674, he married Blandina Kierstede, the daughter of Dr. Hans Kierstede, and the granddaughter of Anneke Jans. They lived on the corner of Broadway and Exchange Place. Petrus acquired lands in New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and was the progenitor of the distinguished Delaware branch of the family.

Nicholas, the second son, was born in 1644. On May 23, 1666, he married Judith Verlet. His will, dated May 9, 1707, was proved on April 19, 1711, near which date he probably died. Nicholas had an eventful and prominent career in the Province till the time of his death. He was almost continuously in public office, occupying many important positions including those of Alderman and Mayor (by appointment in the famous Donegan Charter). For many years he was Secretary of the

¹ She is usually represented to have come over on the same ship with her brother in 1646. Both Stuyvesant Fish and Alma Van Hoevenberg claim this to be erroneous, stating that the fact is as above. See Stuyvesant, p. 112.

² Wilson, Memorial History of New York, I, p. 319.

Governor's Council, later becoming a member of that body. As Colonel of the Militia when Leisler usurped control of the government in 1659, Nicholas took the anti-Leisler side, was driven from the City, then over-taken and harshly treated by Leisler and imprisoned for a whole year. Later when the tables were turned and Leisler was imprisoned, Nicholas sat as a member of the Council which, with the Governor, tried, convicted, and sentenced Leisler to death, and had him executed. In 1702 Nicholas Bayard himself was indicted for high treason, tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hung, drawn and quartered on the charge of an alleged libel against the government and of inciting to sedition, disturbing by force of arms the "peace, good and quiet of his Majesty's government." On this occasion, which had grown out of the bitter animosities aroused in the Leisler troubles, he barely escaped execution by means of a technical admission of guilt. He was a vestryman of Trinity Church and owned much land in the City. His residence was on Hoogh, now Stowe, Street, near Hanover Square.

We are descended from Balthazar, the third son, through his daughter Judith, who married Gerardus Stuyvesant.

Balthazar Bayard was born about 1649 and died on February 19, 1705-06. He married on November 12, 1664, Maria (or Marittze) Loockermans, the daughter of Govert Loockermans and Arientze Jane, his wife. He was first a clerk in the Secretary's office, but appears to have moved over to New Jersey, where he represented Bergen in the second General Assembly of East Jersey. Later he returned to New York, where he served as Assistant Alderman of the West Ward in 1686 and 1687 and as Alderman in 1691. He is mentioned as among the prominent citizens of the city at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century.³ He lived at what would be Numbers 9-11 on the west side of Broadway, opposite Bowling Green.

His daughter Judith, who was baptized on May 23, 1685, was named for her great-aunt, the wife of Governor Stuyvesant.

³ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 44-45.

Gerardus, whom she married, was the grandson of the Governor and thus doubly her second cousin.

The branches of the Bayard family who descended from the three sons of Samuel Bayard and Ann Stuyvesant have always held a high position, particularly in the state of Delaware. There they have been distinguished in the fields of statesmanship, politics and the law. Three, bearing the name of Thomas F. Bayard, have been United States Senators; one, our first Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

RATHBONE

Your great-grandmother Stuyvesant was born Augusta Content Chesebrough, daughter of Robert Chesebrough (see Chesebrough) and Content Rathbone, his wife. She was born in New York City June 17, 1775; married April 1, 1792, in Stonington, Connecticut, to Robert Chesebrough of New York City; died in Stamford, Connecticut, May 29, 1866.

There is considerable obscurity regarding the first member of the Rathbone family to come to this country, about where he first took up his abode and whether he was a Richard Rathbone, born in England in 1574;¹ or a Reverend William Rathborne;² or another by the name of Rathborne. Mention is made of a John Rathborne, born about 1610, who came over with his father. The first of whom there is any definite record is John, supposed to be the son of the first-named John, and our first known Rathbone ancestor, born about 1634, married about 1657 to Margaret Dodge, daughter of Michael Dodge. He is assumed to be identical with the John Rawbone mentioned in the Rhode Island Records as of New Shoreham, Rhode Island, admitted as a Freeman of Rhode Island May 4, 1664, and with the John Rathborne mentioned in the Block Island Records as one of those who met at the house of a Dr. Alcoct on August 17, 1660, to discuss the purchase of Block Island, becoming one of the original sixteen purchasers thereof from Governor Endicott and three others to whom it had been granted for public services.

In 1676 this John Rathbone was chosen one of the surveyors of highways. In 1682, 1683, and 1684 he represented Block Island in the Rhode Island General Assembly; in 1686 he was one of the signers of a petition to the Crown for a writ of *quo warranto* for relief of the petitioners from any share of expense

¹ Cooley, James C., *Genealogical Record of the Rathbone Family in America*, Syracuse, N. Y., 1898, p. 13.

² Reynolds, Cuyler, *Genealogy of Southern New York and Hudson River Valley*. New York, 1914, Vol. I, p. 102, and Vol. III, p. 1234.

imposed under an Act of the Assembly for sending an agent to England for some purpose; in 1688 he served on the Grand Jury of Rhode Island. He died on Block Island in 1702. He had six children, five being sons, on each of whom he is said to have settled a farm on Block Island. His grandchildren, except the children of his son Samuel, left the Island and became the forebears of the various branches of the family found notably in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Albany, and New York City. We are descended from his second son, John.

This son, John Rathbone, born in 1658 in Roxbury, Massachusetts,³ married twice; his second marriage, November 11, 1686, was to Ann Dodge, daughter of Tristram Dodge, also one of the original settlers on Block Island. This John is said to have already moved to Block Island before his marriage and settled on a farm of sixty acres conveyed to him by his father just before his marriage for the nominal consideration of "'one barrel of pork on demand'",³ probably a wedding gift. He was admitted a Freeman of Rhode Island May 5, 1696; October 13th of the same year was chosen Deputy to the General Court of Rhode Island from New Shoreham; was Surveyor of Highways; was also Deputy to the General Court from Block Island.

In December, 1698, an Indian known as "Great James" and his wife Jane bound their daughter Betsy to John Rathbone and Ann, his wife, as an indentured servant for eight years, the consideration being "'one gallon of rum and one blanket in hand, and five years after one gallon of rum, and thereafter yearly; and if she remains five years, then the said Rathbone to pay four blankets, and one every third year thereafter.'"³

This John Rathbone died in 1723. He had eight children. We are descended from the fourth, Joshua.

Joshua Rathbone, born in Newport, Rhode Island, February 11, 1696, married first, November 30, 1721, Mary Card, daughter of Job and Martha (Acres) Card, by whom he had one son,

³ Cooley, p. 73.

Joshua; married second, February 17, 1724, Mary Wightman (1704-1777), daughter of the Reverend Valentine Wightman of Groton, Connecticut, by whom he had twelve children, all born in Stonington, Connecticut, where he had moved from Block Island and where he settled and lived till his death in June, 1779.⁴ He was known as the "Reverend" or "Deacon" Rathbone. Our descent is from John, the fourth child of his second marriage.

John Rathbone, born Stonington, Connecticut, June 26, 1729 married January 8, 1751, Content Brown, daughter of Humphrey and Tabatha (Houridge) Brown of Stonington, Connecticut. Content Brown was born on August 20, 1733; died at Ashford, Connecticut, September 30, 1804.⁵

This John Rathbone was a noted Baptist minister. An earnest patriot during the Revolution, he was a member of the Stonington Committee of Correspondence and a signer of a memorial to the Connecticut Assembly for cannon to protect Stonington from British attack. He was known as a patriarchal figure in the Connecticut of that day, a strong, vigorous preacher. He removed from Stonington to Westford, where he founded in the "glorious year 1780" a Baptist Church, of which he was ordained the first pastor in 1781. He preached at Saratoga, New York, in the ninety-fifth year of his age. In his ninety-eighth year he died at Willington, Connecticut, on August 2, 1826, and was buried at Ashford, Connecticut. In my early days it was a common saying in the family that the Rathbone blood indicated ripe old age. He had thirteen children. We are descended from his eldest son, John.

This John Rathbone, born at Canterbury, Connecticut, October 20, 1751, married Eunice Wells of Westerly, Rhode Island

⁴ Cooley, p. 263.

⁵ So says Cooley, p. 352, of Content Brown. The question has arisen, however, as to whether the names of the parents of Content Brown were as stated above, or whether she was not in fact the daughter of Major Hachaliah Brown, a prominent figure in Rye, New York, in pre-Revolutionary days, a member of the ancient Rye Brown family, as persuasively asserted by descendants in that family.

June 23, 1774.⁶ After prospering as a merchant in Stonington, he removed to New York City, where he became a leading merchant, amassing a considerable fortune. The firm of John Rathbone & Son was down for \$20,000 in the War of 1812 war loan.⁷

He was a member of the New York Assembly, and, being a devoted adherent of DeWitt Clinton, generously supported the movement for the Erie Canal. In 1825 with an Eleazar Lord he subscribed the entire amount of \$400,000 for the Ohio canal way, and later he again underwrote the same amount for the same purpose with John Jacob Astor. He and his brother-in-law, Samuel B. Ruggles, organized the Bank of Commerce in New York City, and he was elected to its first Board of Directors. He died March 13, 1843, in the ninety-first year of his age and was buried in the Marble Cemetery on Second Street, east of the Bowery, where his first wife, who had died January 27, 1810, had been buried. He married a second time in 1813 Mary Sheffield of Stonington, who died in January, 1840. In 1812 he lived at No. 10 Le Roy Place. He had eleven children by his first wife. We are descended from the eldest, Content.

Content Rathbone, born in Stonington, Connecticut, June 17, 1775, married in Stonington on April 1, 1792, Robert Chesebrough of New York City. She died at Stamford, Connecticut, May 28, 1863, at the home of her daughter Harriet, wife of Theodore Davenport. Her daughter, Augusta Content Chesebrough, born in New York September 14, 1807,⁸ my grandmother, married my grandfather, Nicholas Stuyvesant.

Another son of the Reverend John Rathbone, Aaron, born July 25, 1770, married as his second wife Eliza Chesebrough, a sister of the Robert Chesebrough who married Content Rath-

⁶ Cooley, pp. 354-355.

⁷ Wildey, Anna Chesebrough, *Genealogy of the Descendants of William Chesebrough*, New York, 1903, p. 375.

⁸ Cooley, p. 356.

bone. Aaron died at Ballston, New York, May 13, 1845. His son, Robert C. Rathbone, born August 23, 1825, married Juliet Bleecker, daughter of James W. Bleecker, one of the founders and a former president of the New York Stock Exchange. Their son, my cousin and good friend, Robert Bleecker Rathbone, born July 12, 1856, whose residence was on Shrub Oak Lane, Harrison, Westchester County, died in 1936.

CHESEBROUGH

My mother's father, Nicholas William Stuyvesant, married on August 14, 1826, Augusta Content Chesebrough, daughter of Robert Chesebrough of New York City, a descendant of William Chesebrough, one of the first settlers of Boston, Massachusetts, and of Rehobeth on Cape Cod, and one of the founders of Stonington, Connecticut.

William Chesebrough is reputed to have been born in or near Boston, in Lincolnshire, England, in 1594. The parish register of the church of St. Botolph in Boston records the marriage by license on December 15, 1620, by "the blessed John Cotton" of William Chesebrough and Anne Stevenson, "daughter of Peter," born in Boston in 1598.¹ It is said that William Chesebrough, with his wife and two children, came out to Massachusetts in 1630 in the ship *Lady Arabella*, the flagship of a fleet of eleven vessels carrying over eleven hundred people, which sailed March 29, 1630, from Cowes in the Isle of Wight for the promised land under the auspices of the newly formed "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, chartered by Charles I." The *Lady Arabella* also carried the leader of the expedition, John Winthrop, who became Governor of the new colony and other "principal" people including Isaac Johnson and his wife Arabella, a sister of the Earl of Lincoln, for whom the ship was named, as well as Thomas Dudley, Richard Saltonstall and other prominent figures. They landed at Salem on June 12, 1630 and then distributed themselves in settlements about the new territory which became such famous towns as Watertown, Charlestown, Lynn, Malden, Roxbury and Dorchester. Some settlers remained at Salem, but others, including William Chesebrough, settled on a neck of land between the Mystic and the Charles Rivers, building a town to which they gave the name of Boston.

The names of William Chesebrough and his wife Anne appear as Numbers 44 and 45 on the roll of the First Church of Boston,

¹ Bancroft, George, *History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 235.

established in 1630. Three years later the beloved pastor formerly at St. Botolph's in old Boston, John Cotton, assumed the charge of this new church. On the same church roll appears as Number 78 the name of Sarah Chesebrough, supposed to have been the mother of William, who thus must have accompanied her son on the long voyage from England.

The government of the colony appears to have been assumed under the title of General Court by those leading members of the congregation who had come across the ocean.

William Chesebrough was, in 1631, admitted, or made, by the General Court a Freeman, *i.e.*, a citizen of superior class, with certain superior rights and privileges including the right of suffrage. The record shows that at the General Court of Boston on the eighth day of May, 1632, the same Governor (Winthrop) and Deputy (Dudley) were re-elected; and it was then thought expedient to pass an order that two men should be chosen from each town to confer with the Court of Assistants about raising a "public stock," in other words, to provide for a public treasury and the levying of taxes for the support of the government. Thus a House of Representatives was constituted in the General Court. That name survives today as the title of the legislature of the state of Massachusetts. The town deputies became known as Deputies to the General Court. The same record shows that the two Deputies first chosen for the town of Boston were William Chesebrough and William Colburn. Under the date of November 10, 1634, Chesebrough is found Constable or, as it would now be termed, "High Sheriff" of the town, and also as Collector of the Taxes. On this day it was ordered that out of the taxes £30 be paid to one William Blackstone for the purchase from him by the town of Boston of all the lands situated on Boston neck, so-called, except for about six acres reserved by Blackstone for his own use. This purchase comprised what is now the city of Boston.

The following appears on the record under the date of February 9, 1637:

"It is agreed by general consent that all the inhabitants shall plant only upon such ground as is already broken up or enclosed in the neck, or else upon the ground at Noddles Island, and that every able-bodied man, fit to plant, shall have two acres to plant on, and every able-bodied youth one acre, to be allotted out by Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Cogan, Mr. Sanford and William Chesebrough and Mr. Brenton or any three of them."

William Chesebrough had already become one of the deacons of the first Boston church, but in 1637 or 1638 he moved to the Mount Wollaston section. On January 17, 1640, according to the record, the consent of Boston that Mount Wollaston should become a new and separate town was voted in the following words:

"It was agreed that our bretheren of the Mount, viz., William Chesebrough, Alexander Winchester, Richard Wright, James Penniman, Stephen Kingsley and Martin Sanders in the name of the rest for whom they undertake, that they should give to this town of Boston toward the maintenance of the ministers thereof, 41 shillings an acre for every two acres of the seven acres formerly granted to divers gm (gentlemen) of Boston upon expectation they should have continued to be with us, and 3 shillings an acre for every acre that hath been or shall be granted to any others who are not inhabitants of Boston. And that in consideration thereof and after that the said portions of money shall be paid to this town's treasury of Boston, all the said land shall be free from any town rates or charges, when the Mount shall be rated by the Court, and not assessed with the town of Boston and upon these terms, if the Court shall think fit to grant them to be a town of themselves, they shall have liberty to accept thereof."

The record for February 3, 1640, shows that the "petition of the inhabitants of Mount Wollaston was granted them according to the agreement with Boston and the town is to be called Braintree." This record also shows that Chesebrough was appointed commissioner or local judge to try certain classes of cases and that he held other responsible offices, all indicating that he had become a man of weight and standing in the community. The land he occupied was for more than two and a half centuries in the ownership of the Adams family. There the Adams family homestead stood. This land is now within the limits of the city of Quincy.

In 1644 he moved on again to the so-called Seekonk region, in the vicinity of the Plymouth Colony, and formed one of a group which settled a new plantation to which they gave the scriptural name of Rehobeth. Chesebrough personally drew up the compact for the civil government of this community and for that service was allotted a superior portion of land. Contrary to Chesebrough's judgment, the plantation submitted itself to the jurisdiction of the Plymouth Colony. For this reason he, with one of his sons, forsook the place and journeyed westward along the coast in search of a new place to settle, until he reached the large settlement already made at New London in Connecticut under the leadership of John Winthrop, Jr., son of the Governor of Massachusetts and himself later to become Governor of Connecticut. Although urged to remain at New London, the inducement of a liberal allotment of land being offered him, he failed to find the land or conditions there to his liking.

He accordingly retraced his steps eastward till he discovered land more to his liking at the head of Wequetequock Cove in the Pawcatuck region about fifteen miles from New London. There he settled and, with the help of his friend, Roger Williams, built a dwelling house, the first house in what later became the town of Stonington.² There in the summer of 1649 he went to live with his wife and four sons, Samuel, Nathaniel, Elisha and John. The first two were born in England; the two others, in Massachusetts. In 1650 John, who had been born in Boston on September 2, 1632,³ came to his death from a wound made by the cut of a scythe, and was the first white person buried in Stonington.

The people of the New London settlement, however, were apparently not entirely pleased with or reconciled to Chesebrough's not casting in his lot with them, for the following account appears in Holmes' *Annals of America*⁴ and in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.

² Roger Williams, owing to failure to accept the prevailing religious faith, had been practically driven out of Massachusetts.

³ Wildey, Anna Chesebrough, *Genealogy of the Descendants of William Chesebrough of Boston, Rehobeth, Mass.* New York, 1903, p. 17.

⁴ Holmes, Abiel. *The Annals of America*, Cambridge, Mass., 1829, Vol. I, p. 310

"This year a considerable settlement was made between Mystic and Pawcatuck Rivers. This tract was called Pequot and originally belonged to New London. The first man to settle upon this tract of land was William Chesebrough from Rehobeth in 1649. A complaint was exhibited against him for carrying on an illicit trade with the Indians, for repairing their arms and endangering the public safety. The General Court of Connecticut declared that they had a clear title to those lands and summoned him before them. They reprimanded him for settling upon them without their approbation; for withdrawing himself from Christian society and ordinances, and for unlawfully trading with and assisting the Indians.

He confessed his faults, but pleaded in excuse that he had been encouraged by Mr. Winthrop, who claimed a right in Pawcatuck."

In view of Mr. Winthrop's encouragement, Chesebrough's offences, even including the traffic with the Indians, which Chesebrough undoubtedly deemed expedient because of the remoteness of his site, must hardly have been considered serious or unpardonable by the General Court, for the account proceeds:

"He gave bonds for his good conduct and was allowed to continue upon the land. The court promised him that if he would procure a sufficient number of planters, they would give them all proper encouragement in making a permanent settlement in that quarter, and finding that there was a controversy between Connecticut and Massachusetts, with respect both to title and jurisdiction, they, on the 30th of June, entered into a voluntary compact to govern themselves and conduct their affairs in peace until it was determined to which colony they should submit. The principal planters were George Denison, Thomas Shaw, William, Elisha and Samuel Chesebrough, and Moses and Walter Palmer. These with others were signers of the voluntary compact.⁵

In the drafting of this compact the hand of William must have played a principal part, in view of his experience at Re-

⁵ Trumbull, Benjamin, *A Complete History of Connecticut*, New London, 1898, II, 1., pp. 192-193.

hobeth in that regard. Why Nathaniel Chesebrough's name is not included among the planters of Stonington, along with those of his two brothers, does not appear. At this period the Connecticut General Court also passed an act bringing Chesebrough's settlement within the town of Pequot, which voted him a house lot, confirmed his title to three hundred acres of land in Wequetequock, later increasing the grant to 2260 acres.

The question of superior jurisdiction over the Pequot tract soon came up before the Commissioners for the United Colonies, Massachusetts claiming the land in opposition to Connecticut, by virtue of the assistance it had afforded Connecticut in the conquest of the Pequot Indians in the recent King Philip's War. The commission decided:

"That the determination did arise only from the several rights of conquest, which were not greatly different, yet, that being tended of any inconvenience which might arise to those who were already promised either by Commission from Massachusetts or Connecticut in any part thereof, should they be put off their improvements; — also upon enquiry, finding that the Pequot country, which extended from Nanhantic to Wilkapaug, about ten miles east of Mystic River, may conveniently accommodate two plantations, did, respecting things as they stood, conclude that Mystic River be the bound between them as to property and jurisdiction, so far as conquest may give title. Always provided that such as are already accommodated, by commission of either of said governments or have grants of any tract of land on either side of Mystic River, be not molested in any of their possessions or rights by any other grants."⁶

This decision in effect brought the settlement made by Chesebrough and his associates under Massachusetts, as it lay east of the Mystic River. Accordingly, upon the petition of those planters, the Massachusetts General Court made them a grant of eight miles from the mouth of the Mystic eastward toward Kilkapaug, and eight miles northward into the country; the Court named the plantation Southerton, making it a part of Suffolk County. But the territory soon reverted to Connecticut according to the boundary between Connecticut and Massachusetts laid down by the

⁶ Trumbull, I, p. 193.

new charter granted by the Crown to Connecticut in 1662. Thereupon, at its first session, the Connecticut Legislature changed the name of the plantation to Stonington.⁷

On the reversion of Stonington to Connecticut, William Chesebrough was chosen as one of the first deputies or representatives from the town to the Connecticut General Court.

The facts indicate that he was a man of unusual ability and strong character.

(He was) . . . "a man well fitted in capacity and high purpose to be a pioneer in laying the foundations of a well ordered, civil and religious community. Mature in years, of a well-balanced mind, wise in counsel, a man of positive convictions, he naturally drew to himself the confidence of his associates, as to one whose lead it would be safe to follow. He was a man of deeds rather than of words; and yet, when the occasion called for it, he could give utterance to his views in language that needed no interpreter, or he could put them into written form.

His organizing capacity was very marked. . . . On all occasions we find him possessed of large resources, and capable of turning his hand without difficulty to almost any business or branch of employment that offered itself. He could frame a building or sit as judge in a case at law. He could forge a chain, or draw up a plan for the organization of a municipal government. He could survey a tract of land, or worthily represent a town in the General Court.

He was a man of decided Christian principles, and wherever he planted himself he was an earnest supporter of religious worship and religious institutions. When he emigrated to America he brought his religion with him, and both he and his wife were enrolled among the first members of the church in Boston, Mass., and on his removal to Braintree and Rehobeth, he took his church relations with him; and although he died prior to the establishment of the First Church in Stonington, the tradition is that prior to the establishment of religious worship in his neighborhood, he was accustomed in all suitable weather, to attend Sunday services at Pequot, starting a little after midnight that he might be in good time to accomplish the fifteen miles of travel over rough roads and the crossing over two rivers.⁸

⁷ The foregoing as to Stonington is from a letter of Amos S. Chesebrough, written to Robert S. Chesebrough in 1842, given in Mrs. Wildey's book.

⁸ Anna Chesebrough Wildey's *Genealogy*, pp. 13-14.

William Chesebrough died in Stonington on June 9, 1667. His widow, Anna, died on August 24, 1673, age 75 years. Their remains were buried side by side in the old Wequetequock burying ground a short distance from their dwelling house. A fine monument to his memory and that of his associates in the founding of Stonington — Thomas Minor, Walter Palmer, and Thomas Stanton — was erected in this cemetery in 1899, the 250th anniversary of the founding of Stonington. One of the four faces of the monument bears this inscription:

William Chesebrough

The first white settler of Stonington. Born in England 1594. Migrated to America in John Winthrop's company which planted Boston in 1630. After spending a few years in Rehoboth, Mass., he, with his wife and four sons in 1649 fixed his permanent home in this, then wilderness, and built his dwelling house not far from this monument. He took a leading part in the organization of the town and the conduct of its early affairs.

He died June 9, 1667.

A bold pioneer, A wise organizer,
A firm christian.

William Chesebrough and Anna, his wife, had twelve children, eight born in England, four in America.⁹ Two of the former came with their parents to America. The surviving issue of William and Anna were:

Samuel, baptized in Boston, England, April 1, 1627; buried in Stonington, July 31, 1673.

Nathaniel, our ancestor, baptized in Boston, England, January 25, 1630; died Stonington, Conn., November 22, 1678.

Elisha, born in Boston, Baptized June 4, 1637; died in Stonington, September 1670.

⁹ Wildey, p. 17.

John, born in Boston, baptized September 2, 1632; died, as related, in Stonington in 1650, from a scythe wound.

We are descended from Nathaniel Chesebrough, who was made a Freeman of Connecticut in 1666, signed the Pawcatuck Articles in 1658, was a Selectman in Stonington in 1675; was one of the original members of the first church of Stonington, organized June 3, 1674. He married in 1659 Hannah Denison (born May 20, 1643, the second daughter of Captain George Denison and Bridget Thompson, his wife). He died November 22, 1678, and was buried in Stonington. He had eight children. We are descended from the third, Nathaniel.

Nathaniel Chesebrough, son of the first Nathaniel, was born in Stonington April 14, 1666; died April 8, 1732; married January 13, 1692, Sarah Stanton (born 1673, daughter of Thomas Stanton, Jr., and Sarah Denison, his wife, herself the daughter of Captain George Denison and Bridget Thompson), his first cousin. He was a Lieutenant in King Philip's War, Deputy from Stonington to the General Court of Connecticut in 1695 and 1705, Lieutenant of the Train Band in 1698, Captain in 1705. He is said to have been a man of extraordinary size and the legal oracle of the town. He was admitted to the First Church of Stonington September 14, 1701. He had six children, who all died young except Nathan.

Nathan Chesebrough, his youngest child, from whom we are descended, was baptized at Stonington September 2, 1707; died Stonington, August 10, 1769; married November 23, 1627, Bridget Noyes (daughter of Dr. James Noyes, Jr., and Ann Sanford, his wife). Nathan was a deacon of the First Church and was also known as "Captain." "He owned all the land from the 'Road' to the 'Point' and left a large farm to each of his five sons."¹⁰ He had twelve children, we being descended from the sixth, Robert.

Robert Chesebrough was born at Stonington on February 22, 1739; died July 26, 1802, in his sixty-fourth year; married De-

¹⁰ Wildey, p. 307.

ember 25, 1764, Hannah Chesebrough (born January 31, 1747; died September 6, 1804, the daughter of Elihu Chesebrough). His wife's father (November 30, 1704-October 27, 1769) was the son of Elihu Chesebrough (December 3, 1668-June 28, 1750). The latter Elihu was in turn the son of Elisha Chesebrough (baptized June 4, 1637, at Boston, Massachusetts; died April 1, 1670, at Stonington, Connecticut). Elisha was a son of William Chesebrough, the founder of the family.

The Robert Chesebrough named in the above paragraph had nine children. We are descended from the eldest, another Robert.

Robert Chesebrough, the second Robert, was born in Stonington on April 9, 1766; died in New York City, February 7, 1856. He married twice; first, February 3, 1783, at Stonington, Lucy Palmer (born December 7, 1766; died November 1, 1879; daughter of Denison Palmer and his wife, Marion); second, at Stonington, April 1, 1792, Content Rathbone,¹¹ (born June 17, 1775; died May 29, 1863; daughter of John Rathbone, Jr., and Eunice Wells, his wife, and granddaughter of the Reverend John Rathbone). This Robert Chesebrough, my great grandfather, was one of the founders, and the first president, of the Fulton Bank of New York City, and was senior member of the importing firm of Chesebrough & Van Allen, prominent among the old merchants of New York. He lies buried in his vault in the cemetery of "St. Mark's in the Bouwerie." By his first marriage he had a son who died in infancy; by his second, nine children:

I. Lucy, born July 9, 1793, died in New York City, December 14, 1793.

II. Harriet Content, born in Brooklyn, N. Y., October 12, 1795, died June 4, 1798.

III. Robert John, born January 18, 1798, in New York City; married in May 1838, Anne Birmingham; a lawyer, practicing in New York City; died December 30, 1870; his widow died

¹¹ See Rathbone.

June 18, 1878. Both were buried in the Chesebrough vault in the churchyard of "St. Mark's in the Bouwerie." They left the following children:

- A. Anna, born June 26, 1841; married October 4, 1870, Pierre W. Wildey, a lawyer practicing in New York City. She was the author of *Genealogy of the Descendants of William Chesebrough of Boston, Rehoboth, Mass.*
- B. Content Rathbone, married June 4, 1863, her first cousin, Robert C. Kearny. They had two children:
 - 1. Robert Chesebrough *Kearny*, born November 6, 1864.
 - 2. Henry Stuyvesant *Kearny*, born December 27, 1868.
- C. Augusta Stuyvesant, married May 7, 1873, William J. Hochstaetter.
- D. Mary Louise, married January 18, 1876, Walton Milderberger Peckham. Children:
 - 1. Walton Chesebrough *Peckham*, born May 14, 1878; married April 12, 1899, May Crosby Hurry.
 - 2. Wheeler Hazard *Peckham*, born August 2, 1880; graduated from Yale, Class of 1903; married Ethel Anson Steel.
- E. Ellen Caroline, married October 23, 1879, Samuel Anthony Goldschmidt.
- F. Frances Isabel, born May 29, 1856; married October 24, 1877, Wyllys Edmund Dowd. One child:
 - 1. Wyllys Edmund *Dowd*, born October 13, 1878; graduated Class of 1900 from the Yale Scientific School.

IV. Henry Augustus, born March 7, 1801; Yale, Class of 1820; married August 12, 1833, Marion Maxwell Woodhull; died April 2, 1886. Children:

- A. Katharine Van Zandt, married December 15, 1858, Henry Julius Cammann; died May 31, 1885. Children:

1. Oswald deNormandie *Cammann*, born October 16, 1859.
2. Marian *Cammann*, born May 20, 1861; died February 27, 1898.
3. Henry Herries *Cammann*, born April 25, 1866.
4. Katie *Cammann*, born August 11, 1863; died August, 1870.
5. William Chesebrough *Cammann*, born July 22, 1868; served in Spanish War, 1898, as sergeant in Troop A (Squadron A), New York Cavalry; a lawyer of the firm of Allen and Cammann in New York City.

B. Robert Augustus Chesebrough, born January 9, 1837; married April 28, 1864, Margaret McCredy. He was the inventor and patentee of vaseline, making a fortune in its development and sale throughout the world, through his Chesebrough Manufacturing Company. His children who reached maturity were:

1. William Henry, who became well known in the field of real estate in New York City.
2. Frederick Woodhull.
3. Marion Maxwell, who married George Howard Davison of New York City and Millbrook, N. Y.

C. William Henry, born October 16, 1838; married August 8, 1874, Emma Daly; served with distinction in the Union Army in the Civil War, rising to rank of colonel; was Secretary of Legation at London; became Vice President of the Chesebrough Manufacturing Company.

V. Caroline, born January 21, 1803; married in 1837, Richard Tighe, an Irish gentleman of high degree. She died April 19, 1891; her husband, May 6, 1895. "Aunt Tighe," as she was familiarly known to her nephews and great nephews, nieces and great nieces, lived for many years, and died in a large swelled-front brick house, 32 Union Square, next to the corner of 16th. She was a strong figure for a generation or more in New York

society, whose judgment as to social values, family background, etc., was unerring and much sought after, although in her later years she took little part personally in social activities. Her red satin lined barouche, with two colored men on the box, the little old lady therein in solitary grandeur, was a familiar sight of an afternoon on her daily drive to the park. My mother, though easily her favorite niece, because of Aunt Tighe's disapproval of her second marriage, did not fare so well in the distribution of the very ample estate of "Aunt and Uncle Tighe" as she might otherwise have done. Nevertheless, considerably more than one-third went to Mother and her four sons, notwithstanding numerous other nephews and nieces. Aunt Tighe's only child died in infancy.

VI. Augusta Content, my grandmother, treated under "Stuyvesant."

VII. Edward, born New York City, 1809; died unmarried.

VIII. Harriet Grant, born March 10, 1812; married May 9, 1833, Theodore Davenport of Stamford, Connecticut, where they lived in a fine mansion house on Davenport's Neck, still so known. She died July 28, 1896. Children:

- A. Theodore *Davenport*, born February 25, 1834; married August 6, 1862, Georgianna Waters. He and his lovely daughter Harriet were killed by a train on December 9, 1880, in Stamford, while crossing the railroad tracks in his carriage. One other child, Theodore Davenport, Jr., reached mature years and married.
- B. Mary Caroline *Davenport*, born November 9, 1836; married November 9, 1853, Galen A. Carter of Stamford. She died August 13, 1891, leaving descendants, several of whom still live in Stamford.
- C. John *Davenport*, born August 28, 1840; married May 28, 1872, Helen Gautier of New York City; died, leaving one daughter, Helen Chesebrough Davenport, born August 14, 1883; still living in Stamford.
- D. James Boorman *Davenport*, born December 19, 1842; married November 1, 1871, Mary Freeman.

E. Helen Matilda *Davenport*, born March 9, 1846; married June 26, 1873, Samuel Fessenden of Stamford, a prominent citizen and political leader of Connecticut. She left surviving issue.

IX. Lucia Louisa, born June 30, 1814; married in 1836 Philip Reade Kearny of the distinguished New Jersey family, a first cousin of the gallant General "Phil" Kearny of Civil War fame. He died in France, June 23, 1869. He was both a first cousin and brother-in-law of my grandfather, Nicholas William Stuyvesant. Kearny's mother, Anna Livingston Reade, was a sister of the Catherine Livingston Reade who was my Grandmother Stuyvesant's mother; Kearny's wife, Lucia Louisa Chesebrough, was a sister of the Augusta Content Chesebrough who married my Grandfather Stuyvesant. Philip Reade Kearny and Grandfather both built country house on adjoining lands in Rye, overlooking the old Kirby Mill Pond. "Aunt Luce" died at Rye August 21, 1895. Her children were:

A. Anna Livingston *Kearny*, born 1837; married November 25, 1860, Ichabod P. Stephens of New York City. Children:

1. Louisa *Stephens*, born March 27, 1863; married April 18, 1883, Eugene Kirkland of New York City.
2. Anna S. *Stephens*, born September 4, 1866.
3. Amelia L. *Stephens*, born March 17, 1868, still living; unmarried.
4. Benjamin *Stephens*, born November 6, 1864; married; died many years ago.

B. Robert Chesebrough *Kearny*, born July 20, 1839; married June 4, 1863, his first cousin, Content Rathbone Chesebrough (daughter of Robert John Chesebrough); died October 31, 1886.

C. Harriet C. *Kearny*, born May 30, 1844; married April 27, 1864, Charles Stewart Schenck of New York City; died June 14, 1914, as did her husband also in 1914
Children:

1. Lucia Louisa *Schenck*, born July 19, 1866; still living in Rye; unmarried. ("Cousin Lulu").
2. Helen Elise *Schenck*, born February 19, 1868; died in Rye June 14, 1939; unmarried; the dear friend of your mother and aunt.
3. Stewart Courtney *Schenck*, born September 26, 1870; married Alixe Materan; died in Rye February 14, 1944. No children.

D. Lucia Louisa *Kearny*, born October 5, 1848; married May 5, 1869, James L. Quintard; died March 18, 1877, leaving issue.

LIVINGSTON

Your grandmother, born Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant, was the great granddaughter of, and named after, Margaret Livingston, daughter of Gilbert Livingston, fourth son of Robert Livingston, First Lord of the Manor of Livingston, the founder of a great New York family.

The Livingstons are of an ancient noble Scotch family tracing its descent from the twelfth century in Linlithgow, Scotland, to a William Livingston (Born 1329; died 1370), made a baron by a King of Scotland. In 1345 he married Christian, daughter of Patrick, Lord de Callendar, who died without male issue, his estates descending to his daughter, so that her descendants became Lords of Callendar. William's son was a Sir John Livingston, who fell in battle in 1402. The son of this latter was a Sir Alexander Livingston, whose son, Sir James Livingston (died 1467) became the first Lord Livingston of Callendar; the estates having been erected into the Barony of Callendar.

The second Lord, son of the first, was also a Sir James Livingston, as was the third. His son, the fourth Lord of Callendar, Sir William (died 1550), had two sons, James and Alexander; the first killed October 13, 1547 at the battle of Pinkie Field, and Alexander became the Fifth Lord Callendar. William, the sixth Lord Livingston of Callendar, had two daughters who were among the Maids of Honour of Mary Queen of Scots. William's son, another James, the seventh Lord Livingston of Callendar, became in 1600 Earl of Linlithgow.

One of the sons of this latter was James, who was the father of the Reverend Alexander Livingston. He married a relative, Barbara Livingston of Kilsyth, and a son of this marriage was the Reverend William Livingston. This William (born 1576; died about 1641) became a leader in the great struggle between the Presbyterian Clergy and the Bishops of the Established Church in Scotland. His son, the Reverend John Livingston, was the father of Robert Livingston, founder of the family in America.

In his autobiography the Reverend John Livingston thus connects himself with the noble house of the Lords Livingston of Callendar:

"My father was Mr. William Livingston, first minister at Monyabroch, where he entered in the year 1600, and thereafter was transported about the year 1614 to be minister at Lanark, where he died in the year 1641, being sixty-five years old. His father, minister also at Monyabroch, . . . was in near relation to the House of Callendar, his father, who was killed at Pinkie Field, Anno Christi 1547, being ane sone of the Lord Livingston's which house thereafter was dignified to be Earls of Linlithgow."

This Reverend John Livingston was born at Kilsyth, Sterling-shire, Scotland, on June 21, 1603. He was graduated a Master of Arts from the University of Glasgow in 1621. He was ordained a minister in the Established Church of Scotland, but becoming a bold and outspoken non-conformist, he was deposed from his ministry and went over to Ireland, where he took over a church at Killinchy in County Down. He later returned to Scotland and was successively minister at Stranraer and Ancrum, in Roxburghshire. In 1650 he was sent to Holland as one of the Commissioners of the Scottish Estates to negotiate with Charles, Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. When Charles came to Scotland to be recognized as King, John Livingston personally administered to him the oath to observe the Covenant. Later, at the Restoration, John refused to acknowledge Charles II as the Supreme Head of the Church of Scotland. In December 1662 he was banished by order of the Scottish Privy Council, and fled with his family to Rotterdam in Holland, where he became pastor of a Presbyterian congregation of Scotch expatriates. Here he died on August 25, 1672, in the seventieth year of his age.

On January 23, 1635, he had married in Edinburgh Janet Fleming (born 1613), eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming of Edinburgh. She shared his exile, died, and was buried at Rotterdam in February 1693-94. They had numerous children, most of whom died young.

Robert, the fourteenth child of John, was born at Ancrum on December 13, 1654. When nine years old he accompanied his parents to Holland, his later boyhood being spent among the Dutch refugees. He became familiar with Dutch manners and customs, learning to speak Dutch fluently. Being eighteen when his father died, he returned to England. On April 28, 1673 he sailed from Greenock, Scotland, "in the good ship *Catherine* of Charlestown, Captain John Philips, Commander thereof, bound for Charlestown in New England."

A year after he arrived he went to New York and thence up the Hudson to Albany, in the Province of New York, establishing close relations with the leading Dutch families. He was by nature shrewd, bold and ambitious. His entire familiarity with the Dutch language, customs and characteristics, and his evident good breeding commended him to the essentially Dutch community that had so recently come under English rule. He soon was appointed to various important public positions, including Town Clerk of Albany, and Secretary to the Commissaries then administering the government of Albany. By Governor Donegan he was named Secretary to a newly constituted Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs. Of the last he soon became executive head, in effect, Indian Commissioner, in control of all relations and trade with the natives, over whom he acquired and, throughout his career, exercised a great influence. Successive governors relied largely on his advice and judgment in dealing with that difficult people. Incidentally his relationships in that connection as well as his service to the Province in other capacities afforded him many legitimate opportunities for personal emolument which he appears not to have neglected.

He possessed a superior culture, was a man of originality, outspoken to the point of audacity, determined, obstinate and irrepressible, with apparently no sense of inferiority to any one. He was of distinguished appearance, tall and well developed, with brown hair, inscrutable eyes, and with genial, polished manners. He is said to have been careless equally of giving pleasure or inflicting pain.

He took an active part in repelling the raids of the French and Indians during the French and Indian War, and in the punitive measures following the Schenectady massacre. He was appointed one of the commissioners to establish the boundary between New York and New England.

In 1679 at Albany, Robert married the widow of the Reverend Nicholas Van Rensselaer, who was herself the daughter of Philip Pieterse Schulyer of Albany and of Margaret Van Schlectenhorst (daughter of that Barent or Brandt Van Schlectenhorst, Steward or Agent of the Van Rensselaer Patroon, with whom Governor Stuyvesant had his famous controversy). Robert noted his marriage in his Dutch Bible:

"1679, on the 9th day of July, I, Robert Livingston, was wedded to my worthy helpmeet Alida Schuyler (widow of Dominie Nicholas Van Rensselaer) in the Presbyterian Church at Albany (America) by Dominie Gideon Schaats. May God be with us and bless us."¹

He thus became connected with one of the leading and most influential Dutch families of the Province.

Livingston served as one of the Commissioners who, in 1686, procured from Governor Donegan the first Charter of the City of Albany, Peter Schuyler, his brother-in-law, being appointed the first mayor of the city. Livingston was appointed City Clerk and, in addition, Sub-collector of the King's revenues and Secretary for Indian Affairs.

Attracted by the advantages of the lands on the east side of the Hudson below the Van Rensselaer domain, maybe with an ambition to emulate the great land owning family, Livingston during the years from 1683 to 1685 accumulated Indian rights to some 160,000 acres in the present county of Columbia. Starting at about thirty miles below Albany, the property fronted some twelve miles along the river and ran back about eighteen to the Massachusetts line. On July 22, 1686, Governor Donegan granted him a patent to this vast domain, to constitute a manor

¹ Date given here is Old Style.

by the designation of the Manor of Livingston, with the privilege of holding a Court leet (criminal jurisdiction) and Court barony (with right of patronage of churches) within the Manor. This grant was later confirmed by direct royal authority in 1715, with the right of the Manor to be represented in the provincial Assembly. In 1699, about five miles below the present city of Hudson, he built his Manor House. This house, which he occupied till the time of his death, remained standing and in the ownership of his direct descendants till it was destroyed by fire in 1800.

Along with the Schuylers and others, Robert Livingston also acquired rights to a great domain of many thousand acres in the Saratoga region, of which his share was a seventh part of some 30,000 acres, including the battlefield of Burgoyne's defeat.

In 1669, before the definite announcement of the accession of William and Mary, when uncertainty prevailed as to whether these two had come to the throne or whether James II still reigned, one Jacob Leisler, a German merchant of New York and a captain of one of the companies of militia in New York City, usurped control of the government. In Albany, Mayor Schuyler, firmly supported and advised by his brother-in-law Livingston, declined to recognize Leisler or to be awed by or yield to Leisler's show of military force. For Schuyler's stand, Livingston was held by Leisler to be particularly responsible so that he was finally obliged to take refuge under the protection of the Connecticut Governor in Hartford. Leisler considered Livingston a formidable adversary owing to his wealth and strong character and seized the latter's land for non-payment of taxes; he also charged that the failure of a joint punitive expedition of New England and New York forces into Canada against the French and Indians was largely due to the alleged treachery of Livingston. In actual fact Livingston was indeed the principal leader of the opposition to Leisler's usurpation, and the Leisler faction openly charged him with responsibility for the trial for treason and final execution of Leisler.

Robert Livingston had close relations, and considerable controversy as well, with the English Governors of his time, notably with Governor Fletcher, who he claimed had treated him unjustly in refusing to recognize his claim for reimbursement for monies spent for the government in connection with Indian troubles. This issue led to a journey to England in 1694 so that Livingston could press his claim. The voyage was extremely tempestuous and perilous, the ship being driven ashore in Portugal, necessitating change to another ship and delaying until July of the following year Livingston's landing in England. On this account he got himself a new coat of arms, with a ship as crest and the motto *Spero meliora* in place of *Si je puis*.

In 1695 the Lords of the Treasury reported favorably on Livingston's claim, recommending that it be paid and further recommending that he receive for life a salary of £100 per annum as Secretary for Indian affairs and also that he be confirmed for life in his offices of Collector of the Revenues, Town Clerk, Clerk of the Peace, and Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas at Albany, with the usual salaries. On Livingston's return, this finding was not carried into effect. On the contrary, Governor Fletcher and the Council suspended him from his offices and referred the whole matter to the King. At this time, singularly enough, in view of his former attitude and relationship to the Leisler affair, he supported the successful effort of Leisler's sons, then also in England, to secure a reversal of the attainder of their deceased father.

While Livingston was in England he attracted the friendship, indeed became a close friend, of Lord Bellomont, a powerful figure at Court. Just then the government was much concerned with the depredations of pirates,—some said to hail from New York,—preying on commerce in the Indian Ocean and Far Eastern seas; the East India Company had appealed in vain to Parliament for a frigate to protect their interests in these waters. Livingston proposed to Bellomont the fitting out of such a warship and recommended as her commander a certain New York sea captain named William Kidd, said to be familiar with those waters. Bellomont, after discussing the matter in high quarters,

entered into an agreement on behalf of himself and others to pay four-fifths of the £600 estimated as the cost of such a ship with victualing and equipment, and to procure from the King the necessary commission for Kidd, empowering him to command such a ship as a "private man-of-war to fight against the King's enemies and to subdue pirates." Kidd was to enlist a hundred seamen, to proceed against the pirates and take his prizes into Boston and New York. The prize money was to be divided, one fourth going to the ship's crew; the other three-fourths was to be divided into five parts, four of which were to go to Bellomont and the remainder to Kidd and Livingston; the latter were to pay one-fifth of the cost of the expedition and to put bonds for the performance of their part of the bargain. Bellomont's share was to be divided with other high titled sponsors of the expedition, among whom was the King himself.

Kidd, having fitted out his ship and shipped a crew in New York, sailed in quest of the pirates, but meeting with no success in that direction, himself turned pirate and became one of the most famous among such gentry, to the serious embarrassment of his backers, including the King. Finally apprehended on this side, Kidd was taken to England, where he was tried and hanged in May, 1701.

Bellomont, becoming Governor in 1698, at first showed much favor to Livingston, appointed him to the Council, reversed Fletcher's actions against Livingston, and reinstated him in his offices. However, when the final turn in Kidd's activities became known, all those in any manner connected with the affair, including of course Bellomont, were subjected to censure; the reaction was particularly severe in Livingston's case, notwithstanding that it was argued that the original object of the enterprise was entirely praiseworthy. Thereupon a decided coolness ensued between Livingston and Bellomont, who, not unnaturally, held Livingston responsible for having involved them all in so disastrous a venture. Bellomont endeavored unsuccessfully to have Parliament revoke a number of large grants of land, including those to Livingston, made by previous Governors, and to

restrict the ownership of any single individual to one thousand acres. But in 1701 death removed him from the scene.

At this point the newly elected Assembly, at the instigation of the Leisler faction, on a charge of failure to have certain public monies accounted for, passed an act confiscating all Livingston's real and personal property and stripping him of his offices, including his seat in the Council.

In 1703, the new Governor, Cornbury, becoming satisfied that the charges against Livingston had been groundless, had him restored to his property and estates. Two years later Queen Anne reinstated him in all his offices.

He was the Member of the Assembly from Albany from 1709 to 1711, and five years later performed the same duty as representative from his Manor, serving from 1716 to 1725. For the final seven years of this last period he was elected and served as Speaker of the Assembly.

Altogether, Robert Livingston had an eventful, though somewhat turbulent and stormy, career. Incidentally, he became one of the wealthiest, most prominent and powerful figures of that day in the Province, the founder of a truly great New York family.

While Robert was absent on an important mission to Connecticut and Massachusetts, his fourth son, Hubertus, or Gilbert, was born, the event being thus noted in his Bible:

"The 3rd of March (1689-1690) being Monday, at 5 o'clock in the morning, my fourth son was born and named Hubertus after my wife's brother. The Lord help him and us from this dreadful tide of war. On the fifth day he was baptized by Dominie Dellius, and was carried to Baptism by sister Jennekie Schuyler. The witnesses were Peter Schuyler, the Mayor, and Alderman Levinus Van Schaick. I was commissioned by the authorities to go to the colonies of New England to procure men and ammunition against the French, who had possession of Schenectady. At this time there was a usurper, Jacob Leisler by name, a merchant of New York, who assumed rule over this Province and who was executed in New York in May 1691."

Robert Livingston died at the age of seventy-four at Boston on October 1, 1728, and was buried in the family vault on the Manor. By his will, dated August 2, 1728, proved in New York City, he left the greater part of the Manor and the bulk of his estate to his eldest surviving son, Philip, second Lord of the Manor; to his second surviving son, Robert, he left the southerly thirteen thousand acres of the manorial lands; and to his fourth son, Gilbert, he left his part of the Saratoga lands — about thirty thousand acres.

The Manor itself, as it existed under Robert, has been described as "a beautiful place . . . the seat of broad and elegant hospitality;" the Lord of the Manor, although over seventy, "lost none of the courtliness of his younger years, . . . carrying himself as proudly and erect as at forty-five;" his wife, "more delicately fair and beautiful under the snows of her many winters . . . (presided) . . . over her establishment with queenly dignity."² At the time referred to in this account Livingston had not yet quite retired from public life but was still holding office as Secretary for Indian Affairs and actively interested in all that concerned the Province, his jurisdiction as Magistrate still extending over "the entire country from the Manor to Albany."³

His career had been eventful and important, though somewhat turbulent. He had contributed much to the development of the province, and will always stand as a notable figure in the early colonial history of the State.

Gilbert Livingston, born March 3, 1689-1690, was married on December 22, 1711, to Cornelia Beekman, the daughter of Hendrick Beekman of Esopus (later Kingston) and of Joanna de Loper (born July 7, 1693; died June 4, 1742).

Gilbert also was a man of enterprise, force and ability. He rose to prominence and held positions of public trust and respon-

² Lamb, I, pp. 485-486.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

sibility, though one of the ventures of his early years turned out disastrously.

By an act of the Legislature passed November 9, 1717, when Gilbert Livingston was but twenty-eight years of age, "for letting to farm the Excise of this Colony for the term of five years," he and Francis Harrison were to pay 3750 oz. of plate yearly for five years for the privilege of collecting the excise on all strong liquors retailed in the Colony. Apparently this did not prove as lucrative as anticipated for on July 27, 1721 an act was passed excusing Livingston from paying £300 due from him for the farming of the excise on liquors; this act recited that he had been unable to collect enough from the excise to pay the Colony all he had promised because the war with Spain had affected trade so that retailers of liquors felt the depression.

On the same day, by another act Gilbert was empowered to sell certain lots in the City of New York; the second act recited that he had contracted "a very large debt to the public and is at present destitute of all means to pay the same"⁴ On November 2, 1722 another act was passed enabling trustees to sell lots belonging to Gilbert Livingston and his wife Cornelia. Six years later by an act of September 20, 1728, the Treasurer of the Colony was to deliver up the bond given by Gilbert for his contract upon "the Farm of the Excise."

In Robert Livingston's will, dated August 2, 1728 and probated October 18, 1728, the father declared that his son had already received land at Saratoga and also a farm at Conastigione "which I bought in order to extricate him out of his difficulties and clear him of his debts . . . all of which was done to enable him to live in the world."

After this time Gilbert's career seems to have encountered fewer difficulties. He represented the Livingston Manor in the Assembly from 1728 to 1737; was Registrar of the Colonial Court of Chancery, and County Clerk of Ulster County 1722-

⁴ These lots had been willed to him and his wife by Colonel Henry Beekman, his wife's father.

1746; was a Major in the Provincial Militia in Dutchess County in 1737, becoming a Lieutenant Colonel in 1739; during the Indian War served as a Lieutenant in the military forces.

During the minority of his nephew Robert, son of Gilbert's eldest brother Philip, who had been second Lord of the Manor, Gilbert Livingston occupied the Manor House on the Hudson. Later he lived at Kingston, on the west side of the river, where his father-in-law had a vast estate. He died on April 25, 1746, and was buried in the graveyard of the old Dutch Church at Kingston. Here, nigh on forty years ago, your Uncle Howard found his gravestone.

Gilbert Livingston had fourteen children. We are descended from him doubly, through a son, Robert Gilbert, and through his youngest daughter, Margaret. Robert Gilbert had a daughter, Catherine, who married John Reade of Poughkeepsie, and became the mother of Catherine Livingston Reade. Margaret, sister of Robert Gilbert, was born in Kingston on June 20, 1735, and baptized on June 23, 1738. In 1764 she married Petrus Stuyvesant. The son of this marriage was Nicholas William Stuyvesant, my great-grandfather who married the afore-mentioned Catherine Livingston Reade.

Among the other descendants of Gilbert Livingston and of his brothers, we find soldiers in the Colonial Wars and in the War of the Revolution, a Colonial Governor of New Jersey, and various statesmen and jurists. First among the latter stands Robert R. Livingston, descended from Gilbert's brother Robert. This Robert R. Livingston, best known as "Chancellor" Livingston, it was, who, as Chancellor of the State of New York, administered the oath of office to George Washington as first President of the United States. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress, assisted Thomas Jefferson in drafting the Declaration of Independence. As Minister to France during Jefferson's administration, he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase with Napoleon's government. His house, "Clermont," still stands on a bluff overlooking the Hudson above Tivoli.

The family has always ranked high among illustrious American families, being noted for dignity, patriotism, and high purpose; it has been democratic in public affairs, though socially exclusive.

BEEKMAN

The mother of Margaret Livingston, daughter of Gilbert Livingston, after whom my mother, Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant, was named, was Cornelia Beekman, the daughter of Henry or Hendrick Beekman of Esopus, now Kingston, on the west shore of the Hudson and about eighty-five miles above New York.

Henry Beekman was the son of William or Wilhelmus Beekman, founder of the Beekman family in this country, a prominent figure in the regime of Governor Stuyvesant and thereafter under early English governors.

William Beekman came of a German family from Cologne on the Rhine. He was the son of a Hendrick Beekman who was born September 14, 1585 in Cologne, the son of a Protestant minister, Gerardus Beekman, born in Cologne on May 19, 1558, who later moved from the Catholic city of Cologne to Mulheim, a community newly established as a place of refuge for Protestants. But Mulheim, being burned and sacked at the beginning of the Thirty Years War, Gerardus went to Cleves, then under Protestant rule, where he passed his later years in literary work, became Secretary of the Electoral College, and died in 1630.

Hendrick had remained in Cologne, but before 1620, having lost his wife, he moved down the Rhine to Sutphen in Holland, a country at that time the great refuge of all Protestants. There he married for his second wife Marie or Maria Baudert or Baudertius, daughter of William Baudert or Baudertius, a protestant minister.

William Beekman, second of the five sons of this second marriage, was born at Hasselt, Overyssel, Holland, on April 28, 1623.

Little is known of the early life in Holland of William Beekman. He was certainly a young man of superior education and culture; he is said to have occupied some office in the Reformed or Established Church of Holland, and to have possessed considerable means. In 1647 he came over to New Netherland on the *Princess Amelia* with Governor Stuyvesant in the capacity

of the Governor's secretary. Soon after arrival in New Amsterdam he was appointed "schout fiscael" or Treasurer, for the Dutch West India Company, indicating confidence in his capacity and integrity. From the first, he seemed destined to occupy a prominent position in the colony.

In 1649 he married Catharina or Catalina de Boog or DeBoogh, daughter of Frederic de Boog (or DeBoogh), from somewhere up the Hudson. In the same year he made his first purchase of real estate in the little capital city. A year later, in 1650, he bought a considerable tract of land for a farm at the upper end of Manhattan, covering what later became Harlaem or Harlem; apparently that was too far out for his purpose, for in 1652 he bought from one Jacob Corlaer another farm adjoining the city on the north, known as Corlaer's Hoek or Hook.

In 1652 William Beekman was chosen as one of the Nine Men forming the Governor's advisory board. When in 1653 the capital became incorporated as a city with the name New Amsterdam under the new charter granted by the States General, Beekman became one of the "schepens," or Aldermen. He was re-elected as such in 1654, 1655, and 1657, and in 1673 was chosen as president of the Board of Aldermen, and in 1674 became Burgomaster.

In 1653 he acted as one of the two commissioners charged with constructing the defensive palisade wall or breastwork running from river to river at the northern end of the city, from which Wall Street derived its name.

In 1658 Stuyvesant sent Beekman as his representative or vice-director to the South or Delaware River, where he remained in that capacity till 1663, when he was transferred to Esopus as "schout fiscael" (sheriff) and "commissary" in control of the region extending from the Highlands of the Hudson (approximately West Point) to the Catskills. Colonel Nicholls, the English Governor, on taking over in 1664 continued William Beekman as High Sheriff, which office he retained till he resigned in 1671 and returned to New York. There we find him, under English rule, an Alderman in 1679, 1680, 1682 and 1685; and Deputy-

Mayor from 1681 to 1683. When in 1683 Thomas Donegan became Governor, Beekman was chosen as Mayor of the city. With the Aldermen he petitioned for a new charter for the city. As a result of this petition (April 27, 1686) the famous Donegan Charter was granted to the City of New York. Nicholas Bayard was appointed Mayor, and Beekman one of the Aldermen.

His name appears as a lieutenant of the Militia in 1673.

In 1676 he bought from Thomas Hall the extensive property bounded on the east by Pearl Street and the river front, on the west by what would now be Nassau Street, on the south by Fulton Street. The northerly portion included a swampy tract known as Beekman's Swamp, whence the name of the "Swamp" or leather district of more modern times. On this land was a dwelling house facing the river and a brew house, which he appears to have operated, since his occupation has been put down as "brewer." His house stood at what used to be the corner of Pearl and Beekman Streets. There he lived and died at the age of eighty-five, on September 21, 1707. Both William and Beekman Streets in the city are named for him.

At about the time of the last-mentioned purchase he bought a considerable tract up the Hudson, on which he built a small stone house he called "Rhinebeck" after the river in Holland on which he was born. Also, it is said that shortly after his arrival in America he was instrumental in settling on land in that vicinity a number of families from the Rhineland who had come over with Governor Stuyvesant and himself in 1647.

Further, it is said that he founded the first public charity in New Amsterdam, a hospital and orphan asylum.

His daughter Maria became the first wife of Nicholas William Stuyvesant, the Governor's son. (See Stuyvesant, p. 147.)

Henry or Hendrick Beekman, the oldest son of William Beekman, was baptized in New Amsterdam on March 9, 1652, and married on June 5, 1681, Jannetje or Joanna Lopers, variously said to have been the widow of a Joris Davidson and daughter of a ship captain named Luyt Lopers of Stockholm, or to have

been the daughter of a Dutch admiral. Early in life Henry Beekman moved up the Hudson to Esopus, the name of which was changed to Kingston by the English, the region becoming Ulster county. There Beekman became known as the "Great Patentee," by reason of having been favored by the English Governor Fletcher with a huge grant of land, said to be sixteen miles square, on both side of Esopus Creek. There is a story that later, when the General Assembly was engaged with measures to vacate some dozen of such grants made by Fletcher, which comprised two-thirds to three-quarters of the whole province, a lad on inquiring of an Ulster County farmer if there was any land on the moon received the reply, "Colonel Beekman can tell you, for if there is any there, you may be sure he has got a patent for the bigger part of it."

His son Henry, usually called Colonel, also received a huge land grant on the other side of the Hudson, running north more than twenty miles from Fishkill. The father could also claim the rank of Colonel, having served as Colonel or Lieutenant-Colonel of the Ulster County Militia, but he apparently did not often use the title. It is recorded of the elder Colonel Beekman that "February 12, 1692/3 the new Governor, Benjamin Fletcher, received an express from Colonel Beekman of Ulster County, with news that five hundred and fifty French and Indians were near Schenectady, ready to fall upon the first two castles of the Mohogs (Mohawks)," whereupon "his Excell. did send the express forward to Lieutenant Col. Beekman with orders to get all the horses in the County of Ulster together in readiness to carry his Excell. and the detachments to Albany from Kingston by land in case the river was not open, and to forward any confirmation of the news to his Excell. before he intended to embark." The river was open, so "his Excell. got through all right to Albany without requiring the Ulster County horses, pausing only long enough to salute the little stockade fort at Kingston."¹

¹ Wilson, op. cit., I, pp. 496-498.

Henry Beekman was appointed January 25, 1684, by the Governor and Council Justice of the Peace or County Judge of Ulster County, and in 1691 sat in New York City as a member of the first Assembly under the King from Ulster. He died at Kingston in 1716.

As stated, his daughter Cornelia married Gilbert Livingston; their daughter was Margaret Livingston, wife of Petrus Stuyvesant, great-grandson of the Governor.

The Beekman family has always ranked high in the public and social life of the Province and State of New York, one of its highly respected, fine old families of Dutch origin, and its members have adorned the learned professions, particularly medicine and the law.

OUR FAMILY IN OUTLINE

TABLE I

Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright (Bishop)	m. Amelia Maria Phelps
I Jonathan Mayhew (1821-1863)	m. Maria Byrd Page
A Jonathan Mayhew (1849-1870)	
B Elizabeth (1850-1883)	m. <i>J. Burwell</i>
C Robert Powell Page (1852-1902)	m. Josephine Serrell
1 Helen Serrell (1881-1910)	m. <i>D. W. Rogers</i>
a Robert Wainwright Rogers	m. M. Rosamond Lafavour
(1) Rosamond Wainwright Rogers	
(2) Fay Helen Rogers	
b Daniel Curtis Rogers (1907-1927)	
2 Jennie Pound Serrell (1882-1939)	m. <i>F. Mears</i>
a Josephine Wainwright Mears (1908 m. <i>J. P. McVay</i>	
(1) Jane Patricia McVay	
(2) Marilyn Elizabeth McVay	
b Elizabeth MacFarland Mears (1910 m. <i>H. Meiggs</i>	
(1) Henry Frederick Meiggs	
c Frederick Mears (1905-1943)	
d Helen Rogers Mears (1917-1929)	
3 Jonathan Mayhew (1883	m. Adele Howard Holley
a. Jonathan Mayhew (1913	m. Elfrida E. Olsen
D Maria Page	m. <i>Henry Slaughter</i>
II Elizabeth Mayhew (1824-1882)	m. (1) <i>S. H. Remsen</i>
	(2) <i>W. H. Hudson</i>
III John Howard (1829-1871)	
	(See Table II for issue)
IV Maria Trumbull (1831-1905)	m. <i>T. B. Bronson</i>
A Theodore Bronson	
B Talmage Bronson	
C Amelia Maria Bronson	m. <i>A. Hammersley</i>
D Anna Eliza Bronson	m. <i>S. Smith</i>
E Mayhew Wainwright Bronson (1864-1936)	
V Daniel Wadsworth (1833-1863)	
VI Amelia Maria (1838-1867)	m. <i>H. C. Bankhead</i>
VII Francis Chetwood (1839-1874)	m. Frances M. Davis
A Belinda Emmet Davis (1866-1944)	
B Francis Chetwood (1867-1910)	m. Sara Louise Blaine
1 Frances Mary Davis (1900)	
C Amelia Maria (1868-1942)	
VIII William Augustus Muhlenberg (1844-1895) m. Helena Barker Talcott	
A Mabel Wyllys (1869	
B Jonathan Mayhew (1874-1934)	m. Jessie Bell Hart
1 Jonathan Mayhew (1902-1916)	
2 Talcott (1904-1945)	m. Arvilla Randall
3 Grosvenor (1907	m. Mabel Gardiner Clark
a Jonathan Mayhew (1936	
b Anne (1938	
4 Ruth Wyllys (1910	m. <i>W. Wallace</i>
C Elizabeth Mayhew (1878-1942)	m. <i>J. B. Hall</i>
1 Joseph Talcott Hall (1908	m. Gertrude Conklin
D Philip Stanley Wainwright (1885	

TABLE II

John Howard Wainwright	m. Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant
A John Howard (1862-1911)	m. Catherine E. Walker
B Stuyvesant (1863-1930)	m. (1) Caroline S. Snowden (2) Sarah Hughes
1 Stuyvesant (1891)	m. Louise Flinn
a Peter Stuyvesant (1925)	
b Mimi Louise (1927)	
c Patricia Nagley (1930)	
2 Snowden (1893-1894)	
3 John Howard (1896)	m. Caroline Seymour
4 Loudon Snowden (1898-1942)	m. Eleanor P. Sloane
a Loudon Snowden (1924)	
5 Carroll Livingston (1899)	m. Edith Gould
a Stuyvesant (1921)	m. Janet I. Parsons
(1) Stuyvesant (1943)	
(2) Jonathan Mayhew (1944)	
b Caroline (1924)	
c Carroll Livingston (1925)	
C Jonathan Mayhew (1864-1945)	m. Laura W. Buchanan
1 Fonrose (1893)	m. Philip K. Condict
D Richard Tighe (1868-1933)	m. Alice Crawford
1 Richard Tighe (1896-1902)	
2 Alice Crawford (1898)	
3 Margaret Stuyvesant (1903)	m. (1) D. Dearborn (2) E. B. Prindle
a George Dearborn (1928)	
b David Dearborn (1930)	
c Margaret Stuyvesant Prindle (1935)	
4 Caroline Townsend (1908)	m. J. L. Farrand
a Livingston Farrand (1935)	
b John Farrand (1937)	
c David Crawford Farrand (1940)	
5 Townsend (1905)	m. (1) Elizabeth Treman (2) Rosalie deF. Crosby
a Mary Treman (1932)	
b Audrey Townsend (1935) }	By 1st marriage.

